

WHY I WRITE, BY EDUARDO GALEANO
DAVE ZIRIN ON TIGER WOODS

The Progressive

July 2013

Peace Bites the Dust

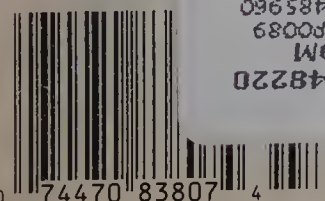
By Stephen C. Webster



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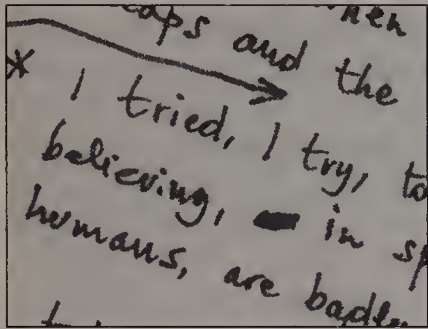
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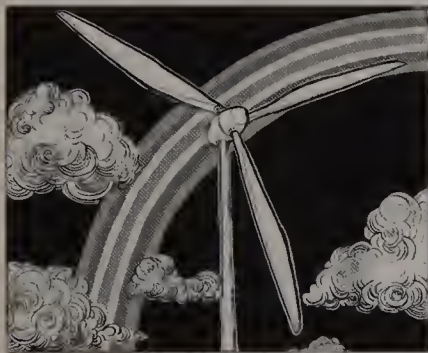
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EDITOR

Matthew Rothschild

POLITICAL EDITOR

Ruth Conniff

MANAGING EDITOR

Amitabh Pal

CULTURE EDITOR

Elizabeth DiNovella

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS

David Barsamian, Kate Clinton, Christopher D. Cook, Anne-Marie Cusac, Edwidge Danticat, Susan J. Douglas, Will Durst, Barbara Ehrenreich, Eduardo Galeano, Jim Hightower, Fred McKissack Jr., John Nichols, Adolph Reed Jr., Luis J. Rodríguez, Terry Tempest Williams, Dave Zirin

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Editor's Note Matthew Rothschild

Meeting Galeano

I finally met Eduardo Galeano on May 9. He's one of my favorite writers in the entire world, and as he's been contributing his unique essays to *The Progressive* since the year 2000, it's odd that we'd never met before.

I'd been dealing with him only via e-mail or through his terrific agent, Susan Bergholz, so I didn't know quite what to expect. Plus, the picture that accompanies his column makes him look kind of severe. And you never know, when you meet someone famous, how the person will turn out to be.

But Galeano didn't disappoint. Not at all. He was thoughtful, inquisitive, twinkly, and clever, even though he's ailing at seventy-three.

I picked him up at the Lowell Center on the campus of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and we went to Audio for the Arts, the fine recording studio where I've been doing my *Progressive Radio* show for the past eleven years. (Galeano was my final interview for this program, which we no longer have the resources to keep producing, unfortunately.)

We had a fun conversation in studio, which you can listen to at progressiveradio.org. He said he learned to tell stories by listening to the conversations in the cafes of Montevideo, where he could hear the hoofbeats of the horses and feel the bullets of the battles that were being recounted.

Getting serious, he talked about "the dictatorship of fear" that the United States has imposed, saying it has created "a world in panic."

He mocked the "strip tease you're obliged to do" at U.S. airports, and then he told a funny story about a dream his wife had. "She's the queen of dreams," he said. "In this one, we were in an airport in a long, long line of passengers, each one taking their pillow on which they'd slept the night before. They had to put their pillows

through a machine specializing in the reading of pillows to detect dangerous dreams."

He said the fears felt in the United States, which serve the interests of the military and the corporations, instantly spread around the world, adding that "the President of the United States is the president of the planet."

He praised the protests against austerity in Spain and Greece, saying that the potential of "the indignation movement is infinite while it's alive, like love."

Galeano, whose *Open Veins of Latin America* is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of imperialism in this hemisphere, talked about being in Brazil in 1964 when the military overthrew the democratically elected government of João Goulart with "the open support of the U.S. government."

He talked about having to leave his home country of Uruguay after a coup there, and then fleeing to Argentina, where he edited a magazine called *Crises*. But then the military took over, so he had to flee again.

"I left Uruguay because I didn't want to be in jail. It's quite boring," he said. "I left Argentina because I didn't want to be dead. It's even more boring."

On the evening of May 9, Galeano received a lifetime achievement award from the Havens Center at the University of Wisconsin. We're delighted to be able to publish the wonderful acceptance speech that he gave. Then he answered a few questions, denouncing "the inflation of words, which is worse than the inflation of currencies." When he was through, all of us in the crowd gave him a standing ovation.

Galeano has a new book out called *Children of the Days: A Calendar of Human History*. When you read it, you'll give him a standing ovation, too. ♦

NRA Refights Civil War

The new president of the National Rifle Association, Jim Porter, said that the Civil War was “started by some Yankee generals who didn’t like the way my Southern boys had the ability to shoot, in what we call the ‘War of Northern Aggression,’ ” the New York *Daily News* reported.

Endorsements Only Go So Far

North Miami mayoral candidate Anna L. Pierre claimed that Jesus Christ himself endorsed her campaign. Her campaign posters carried a picture of Jesus and in huge letters boasted of her endorsement from on high. Pierre came in last of seven candidates in the primary on May 14.

GOP Not White Enough

Phyllis Schlafly of the Eagle Forum told *PolicyMic* that it’s a “myth” that the Republican Party needs to reach out more to Latinos. She said that Mitt Romney lost the 2012 Presidential election because “his drop-off from white voters was tremendous” and the GOP doesn’t “know how to relate to grassroots Americans.”

Sensitivity Training, 101

At the King of Prussia Mall in Pennsylvania, three sisters were booted out for wearing matching hats saying “Fuck Cancer.” Over the “c” in the first word “was a strategically placed pink breast cancer ribbon,” according to the ABC News affiliate WPVI. The sisters were shopping for funeral dresses because their mother had died of breast cancer just days before. The owner of the mall later apologized and expressed condolences to the sisters.

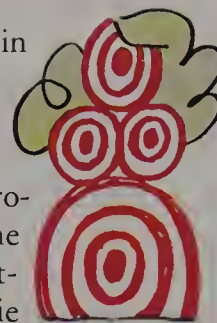
Great Depression Revised on Fox

John Stossel, *Fox Business* host, urged massive cuts in government spending: “Think about the Depression, before there was any welfare state at all. How many people starved? No one.” Actually, in 1934 in New York City alone, 110 people died of starvation, according to historians Steven Mintz and Sara McNeil, *Rawstory* noted.

Readers are invited to submit No Comment items. Please send original clippings or photocopies and give name and date of publication. Submissions cannot be acknowledged or returned.

Target Marketing

At the National Rifle Association convention in Houston held May 3-5, a target manufacturer was selling “the Ex,” a scantily clad, blood-splattered female shooting-range mannequin, according to the *Huffington Post*. After a controversy ensued, Zombie Industries changed the name to “Alexa.” The mannequin is still scantily clad and bursts into “blood-soaked Zombie matter” when shot, the company says. Alexa sells for \$89.95. The company also sells an “IRS Agent” paper target for a dollar.



Pat Robertson’s Counseling

A woman asked Pat Robertson on the *700 Club* how she could rebuild trust after her husband’s infidelity. “He cheated on you. Well, he’s a man,” Robertson responded. “Recognize also, like it or not, males have a tendency to wander a little bit.” His advice: “What you do is begin to focus on why you married him in the first place, on what he does good. Does he provide a home for you to live in? Does he provide food for you to eat? Does he provide clothes for you to wear? Is he nice to the children?”



Not to Be Outdone

Conservative Christian radio host Bryan Fischer was not happy about the news that mothers were now the primary source of income in 40 percent of U.S. households. Men were “designed to be breadwinners for their families,” he said. “That’s the way God set it up. That’s the way he designed it.” Women, by contrast, were designed for “making a home for her children and for her husband.”

Your Job or Your Lungs

Fifteen strawberry pickers at Crisalida Farms in Oxnard, California, walked off the job on May 2 because smoke from a nearby wildfire had made it hard to breathe. The foreman warned them they would be fired if they left, and when they returned the next day, he canned them, NBC Los Angeles reported. After they contacted the United Farm Workers, Crisalida Farms offered to rehire them, but only one accepted.



STUART GOLDENBERG

Letters to the Editor

Where Did My Milwaukee Go?

Thank you, thank you, for your review of Barbara Miner's book about Milwaukee ("The Battle of Milwaukee," Matthew Rothschild, May issue). I have long grieved about what has happened to the city where I was born and raised. I graduated from North Division High School in 1942 and attended the University of Wisconsin and found myself as well prepared for my studies in chemical engineering as any members of my class.

I look forward to finding out how my socialist city became the rightwing bastion that apparently it now is. I know it will be painful, but I trust I will find some hopeful possibilities.

Ed Daub
Madison, Wisconsin

Ban the Drones

After reading Shawn Musgrave's article in the May issue, "Make Your Town a Drone-Free Zone," I too am eager to join the ranks of the activists who are mobilizing to restrict or ban drones at the local, state, and national level.

The ugly specter of drones hovering over us to detect our every move is not how a free people should live.

David Quintero
Monrovia, California

Curbing Global Warming

The April issue of *The Progressive* was outstanding. The interview of David Suzuki by David Barsamian was refreshingly invigorating. Jason Mark's article, "Global Warming: Holding Obama's Feet to the Fire," covered much ground with good suggestions for Obama about saving the planet.

But the Mark article would have been even stronger if it included two more points.

First, according to the U.N. Food

and Agriculture Organization, livestock agriculture is one of the biggest causes of global warming. It produces more greenhouse gases than cars, trucks, planes, trains, and all other forms of transport combined.

And second, all the gains we're able to make to curb pollution and global warming tend to get wiped by our no-end-in-sight population growth.

Radical change in the way we live is essential if we are to save Mother Earth and its people.

As the world's biggest polluter over the last century, we have the obligation to start implementing that change right away.

John Mannheim
Concord, Massachusetts

Too Self-Righteous

I enjoyed the May issue, as usual. *The Progressive* is right on target about the faults of the political and religious right. But it's blind to the self-righteousness of its own perspective.

Abby Scher ("Anti-Abortion Forces on the March"), for example, ignores the reality that the success of anti-abortion forces is reinforced by the taboo on public discussion of world overpopulation.

Ruth Conniff ("At Last, a Humane Budget") deals with budgetary concerns as though human problems can be solved simply by spending money.

Many things are true, but not all truths are helpful. The most salient truth of our times is that we can't have infinitely expanding populations and economies on a finite planet.

We need cooperation between the thoughtful, not class warfare.

We need an enlightened citizenry capable of goodwill that acknowledges its own shortcomings, not the projection of our evil onto others.

Arthur H. King Jr.
Audubon, New Jersey

Bad Review

I am writing to tell you why I am very disappointed in *Plutocrats*, by Chrystia Freeland, which Jake Whitney reviewed in the March issue. On the basis of that review, as well as the title of the book, I ordered a copy.

But Whitney did not point out many of the book's failures. Freeland uses a mass of statistics that could hardly be understood by the ordinary reader. She packs each paragraph with so many figures and percentages that it's difficult to read.

The subtitle of the book is *The Rise of the New Global Super-Rich and the Fall of Everyone Else*, but Freeland doesn't explain how the super-rich cause everyone else to fall.

The book was a bad buy, so I will donate it to some library.

Donald R. Mathews
Ames, Iowa

Anti-Abortion Buddies

Thanks for Abby Scher's excellent "Anti-Abortion Forces on the March" (May issue).

But we should also note that the conservative/Republican drive to return women to medieval patriarchy is matched by their endless campaigns to have state and federal governments divert public funds through voucher and tax-credit schemes to church-run private schools, the vast majority of which indoctrinate kids with anti-choice ideologies.

Progressives need to fight both of these closely linked campaigns.

Recall that both issues were on the ballot last fall in Florida and, fortunately, both lost.

Edd Doerr, President
Americans for Religious Liberty
Silver Spring, Maryland

Bush's America

I just finished reading the May issue, and I have to comment on your Editor's Note about George W. Bush (Matthew Rothschild, "Rearview

SLOWPOKE

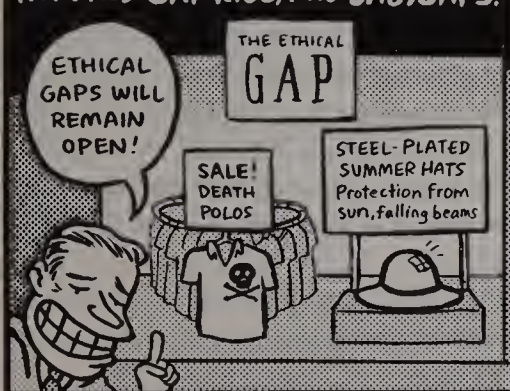
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GAP'S REPUTATION COLLAPSE

EVEN AFTER THE RECENT GARMENT FACTORY COLLAPSE THAT KILLED 1,127 IN BANGLADESH, THE GAP—ALONG WITH WALMART—REFUSES TO SIGN A LEGALLY-BINDING AGREEMENT TO IMPROVE SAFETY CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTRY.



IF WARNING SIGNS ARE IGNORED, THE BRAND COULD COLLAPSE, KILLING OVER 3,000 STORES, INCLUDING SEVERAL HUNDRED GAP KIDS, AND BABYGAPS.



CRACKS IN THE RETAILER'S FAÇADE BEGAN TO APPEAR WHEN MAKING EXCUSES ABOUT WHY IT COULDN'T SIGN AN ENFORCEABLE MEASURE.



AS A BANGLADESHI GARMENT WORKER, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF ALL THIS?



Mirror”).

I started following Bush’s candidacy early on. Just reading about his privileged upbringing and his failure to uphold his military duties told me the country was in for a wild ride.

But little did I know that he’d actually bankrupt the United States government.

As a student of accounting for forty years, I couldn’t believe his lack of knowledge in this area. And he had a business degree?

His Administration was the beginning of the end for a rational government here. His “If you’re not with us, you’re with the terrorists” was one of the lowest points.

I actually wanted to leave this country, and I had never been all that

political before.

And it’s not just Bush. Many of our legislators care nothing about their constituents. They do not listen to our wants and needs—only to their rich backers. I wish Russ Feingold was still in office. He had more scruples than just about anyone in Washington.

Geraldine Graebel
Edgar, Wisconsin

Kudos All Around

I love *The Progressive*! Please allow me to say how much I appreciate your entire staff’s brilliant, wise, funny work month by month.

Thank you!

Catherine Parker
Lake Tomahawk, Wisconsin

The Progressive

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Obama's Hollow Words

President Obama has an eerie and alarming ability to detach himself from his own dubious actions. This character trait was on full display in his big speech at the National Defense University on May 23.

When he talked about the need to shut down Guantánamo, he said: "Look at the current situation, where we are force-feeding detainees who are holding a hunger strike. Is that something that our Founders foresaw? Is that the America we want to leave to our children?"

Wise words, but hollow ones.

Hollow, because he could have closed Guantánamo on day one in his first term, as he promised.

Hollow, because even today he could be releasing those prisoners himself, rather than overseeing their force-feeding.

Thank God for Medea Benjamin of CodePink. She had the audacity to disrupt the President's speech with some cogent criticism, saying, "You could close Guantánamo today." She also asked him whether he would "compensate the innocent victims" of his drone attacks.

To his credit, Obama said, "The voice of that woman is worth paying attention to. Obviously, I do not agree with much of what she said. . . . But these are tough issues, and the suggestion that we can gloss over them is wrong."

But acknowledging their toughness (and indulging a questioner) does not rectify the shameful policies he is carrying out.

Obama also tried to detach himself from his own Justice Department's grabbing of the phone records of more than 100 AP reporters and the claim by the Justice Department that Fox News' James Rosen was a "co-conspirator" in violating the Espionage Act of 1917 and was therefore a suitable subject for surveillance.

"I am troubled by the possibility that leak investigations may chill the investigative journalism that holds governments accountable," Obama said.

"I couldn't let the President continue to act as if he were some helpless official at the mercy of Congress."

—Medea Benjamin

Then tell Attorney General Eric Holder and the Justice Department to back off.

But Obama really doesn't want to do that. Nor does he want to retreat from the harsh assault on whistleblowers that he's had Holder wage, again using the Espionage Act. Obama has been more ruthless toward whistleblowers than any President before him. It's schizophrenic of him to say he's worried about chilling investigative journalism while he's throwing the book at NSA whistleblowers and Bradley Manning.

Most slippery was Obama on the subject of killing U.S. citizens. "For the record," he said, "I do not believe it would be constitutional for the government to target and kill any U.S. citizen—with a drone, or a shotgun—without due process."

But then he justified the assassination of Anwar Al-Awlaki, without acknowledging that Al-Awlaki received no due process.

Shabbily, he neglected to even mention by name the three other American citizens his Administration has rubbed out.

Samir Khan, a young editor of a magazine allegedly affiliated with Al Qaeda, was killed by the same drone that struck down Al-Awlaki.

A few weeks after Obama and his drone operators got Al-Awlaki and Khan, they bumped off Al-Awlaki's sixteen-year-old American-born son, Abdulrahman Al-Awlaki. Obama's former press secretary, Robert Gibbs, said Abdulrahman should have had "a far more responsible father." (How is that for chilling?)

And now it comes out that they also assassinated Jude Kenan Mohammad, a twenty-three-year-old American citizen who had been radicalized and who had gone to Pakistan.

These three never received due process, either, though Mohammad had been indicted.

Obama and his advisers don't want to admit that they intentionally killed any U.S. citizen other than Anwar Al-Awlaki because by their own standards, they're supposed to kill only Al Qaeda members who

pose an “imminent” threat.

They have managed to find a way around that, though, because Attorney General Holder has defined “imminent” as non-imminent. Last year, Holder said, “The evaluation of whether an individual presents an ‘imminent threat’ incorporates considerations of the relevant window of opportunity to act, the possible harm that missing the window would cause to civilians, and the likelihood of heading off future disastrous attacks against the United States.” Of course, the “window of opportunity to act” has nothing to do with how imminent the threat actually is—just whether the U.S. military or the CIA has a good shot at the person. The other two criteria here don’t really deal with imminence, either, but with the potential severity of future attacks. Holder concluded his sophistry this way: “The Constitution does not require the President to delay action until some theoretical end-stage of planning—when the precise time, place, and manner of an attack become clear.”

So when the Obama Administration uses the word “imminent,” it doesn’t really mean what the word actually says.

However much exercise President Obama gets by backpedaling on this issue now, the fact remains that he has acted like Michael Corleone in the Oval Office.

Sometimes, Obama seems to comfort himself with the thought that he’s just doing his job as head of the empire, conflicted as he is.

That was the case when he gave his acceptance speech for his undeserved Nobel Prize. There he said, “I am the commander-in-chief of a nation in the midst of two wars. I know there is nothing weak—nothing passive, nothing naïve—in the creed and lives of Gandhi and King. But as a head of state sworn to protect and defend my nation, I cannot be guided by their examples alone.”

And that was the case at the National Defense University, when Obama said, “As commander-in-chief, I must weigh these heartbreaking tragedies [his killing of civilians with drones] against the alternatives.”

Obama did say some things that were a relief to hear.

It was good of him to quote James Madison: “No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare.”

It was good of him to say, “This war, like all wars, must end. That’s what history advises. That’s what our democracy demands.”

It was good of him to say that we are not fighting “a boundless ‘global war on terror’” but “specific networks of violent extremists that threaten America.” (But if those networks are defined as boundless, what’s the difference?)

It was good of him to say that drone warfare “rais-



JOY KOLITSKY

es profound questions—about who is targeted and why; about civilian casualties, and the risk of creating new enemies; about the legality of such strikes under U.S. and international law; about accountability and morality.” (But then he said the drone warfare would continue.)

It was good of him to say that “we have faced down dangers far greater than Al Qaeda.”

It was good of him to say that he wants to “ultimately repeal” the Authorization for Use of Military Force of September 2001 (though he left himself a lot of fudge room with the word “ultimately”).

It was good of him to say that he is “haunted” by the civilian deaths of non-American citizens who fell victim to our drones (though his being haunted by them is next to nothing compared to the anguish of their loved ones).

It was good of him to say that he is wary of vesting permanent wartime “unbound powers” in the hands of the President (though even in wartime those powers are supposed to be bounded by the Constitution).

All these things are good, as far as they go. But they don’t go very far. Not when his policies remain essentially unchanged.

—Matthew Rothschild

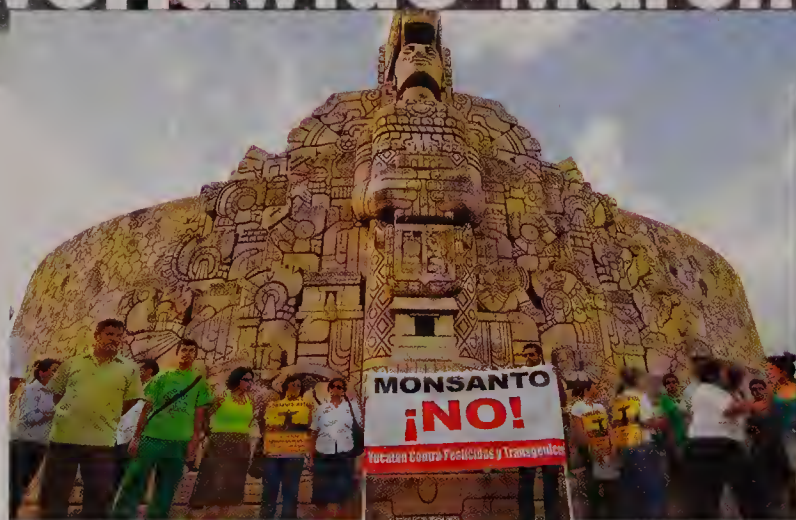
“What Obama has specialized in from the beginning of his Presidency is putting pretty packaging on ugly and discredited policies.”

—Glenn Greenwald



Worldwide March Against Monsanto

Seattle ELLIOT STOLLER



NEWSCOM/FRANCISCO MARTIN Mérida, Yucatan, Mexico



Montpelier, VT

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS/MARK COLLIER

Washington, DC
EASTERN MEDIA LLC 2013

Demonstrators gathered in cities and towns across the globe on May 25 to protest against the agribusiness giant Monsanto. Their grievances include Monsanto's genetically modified seeds, its hazardous pesticides (such as RoundUp), its intimidation of small farmers, and its bullying of legislators in country after country.

For more information, go to www.march-against-monsanto.com.



Save Our Schools



Chicago

In mid-May, thousands of protesters took to the streets to protest Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel's plan to shut down fifty-four public schools. The Chicago Board of Education ended up sparing only five of those schools. The Chicago Teachers Union is suing to keep ten more open.

For more information, go to www.ctunet.com.

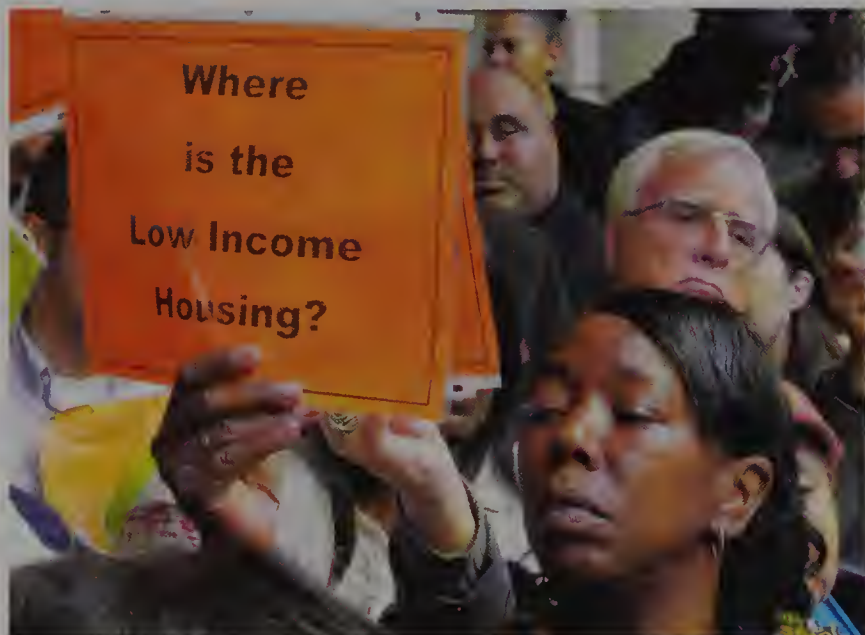


PHOTOS SCOTT MCMORROW

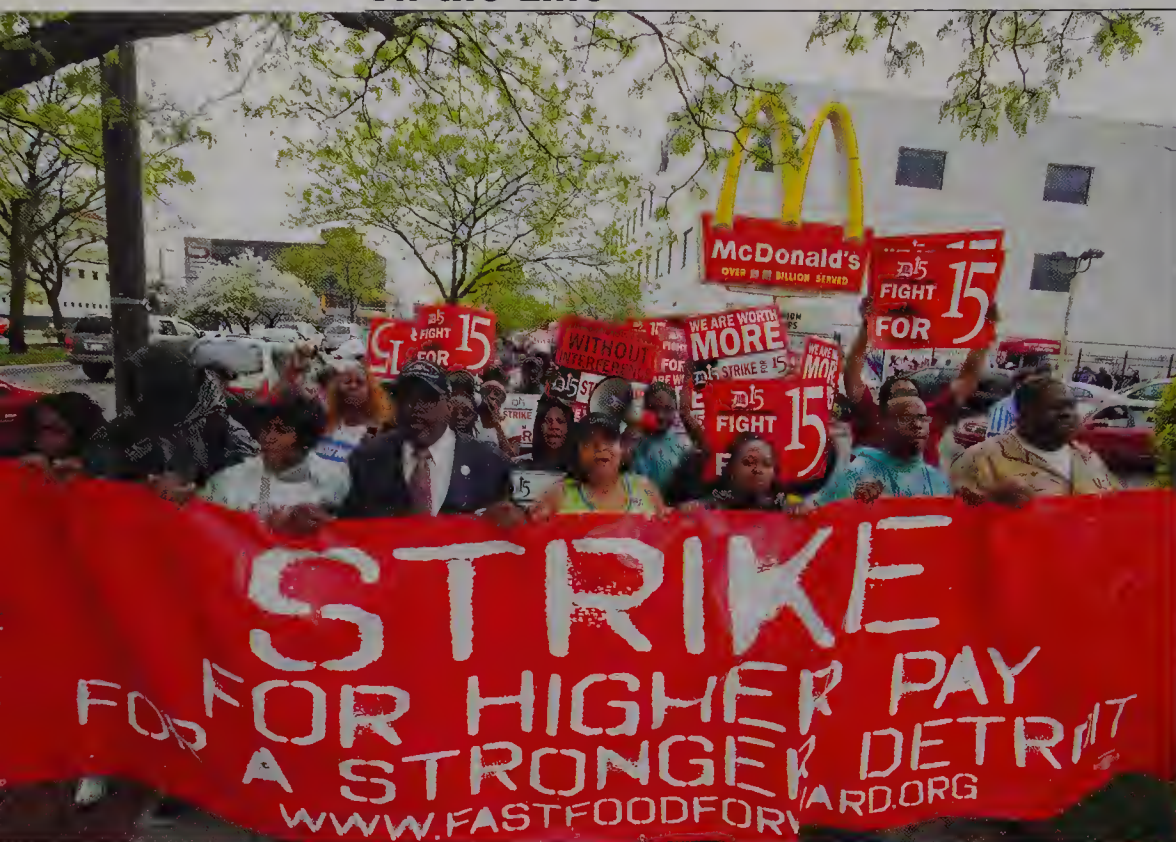
Luxury Housing or Playgrounds?

New York City

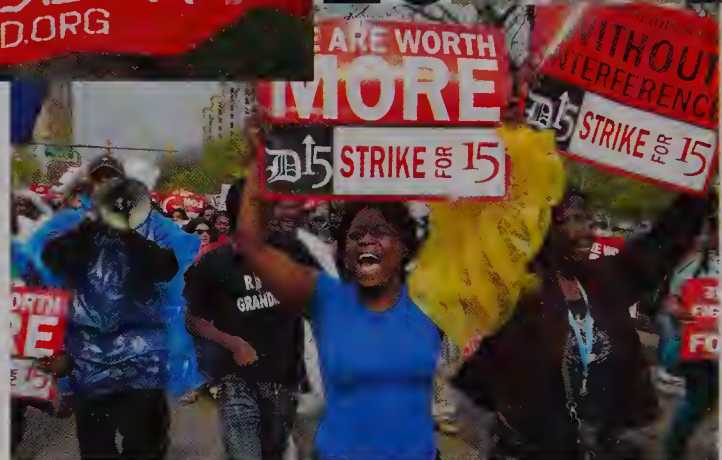
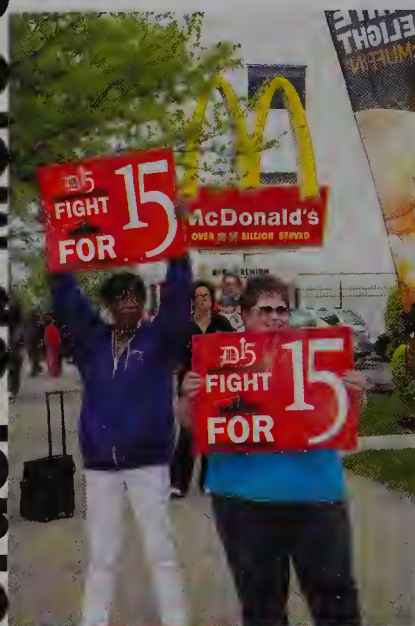
More than 300 people gathered outside City Hall on May 8 to protest Mayor Michael Bloomberg's plans to build luxury housing on playgrounds and parking lots in the city's public housing projects, which are home to 400,000 residents.



STEVE WISHNIA



Fast Food Workers Order Up More Strikes



PHOTOS © JIM WEST/WWW.JIMWESTPHOTO.COM

Workers at major fast food restaurants continued their rolling protests in May, demanding a \$15 an hour wage. Following actions in April in Chicago and New York, employees of McDonald's, Burger King, Taco Bell, and other chains went on strike in Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

For more information, go to fastfoodforward.org.

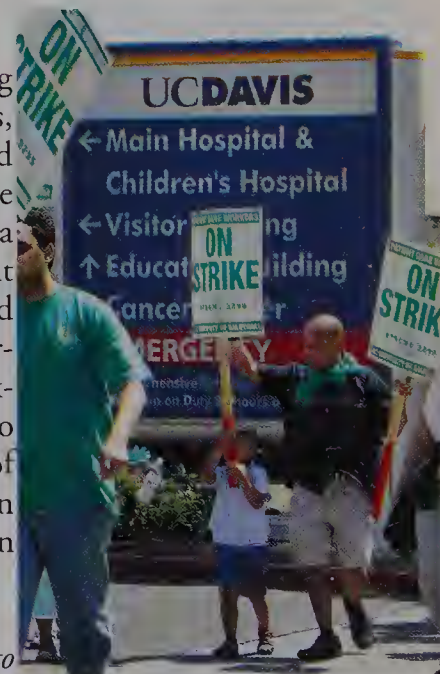
Hospital Workers Walk the Line



Sacramento

Nursing assistants, operating room scrubs, pharmacists, medical technicians, and other employees of the University of California Davis Medical Center went on strike on May 21 and May 22 to protest understaffing and excessive workloads. Walkouts also occurred at University of California hospitals in Irvine, Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco.

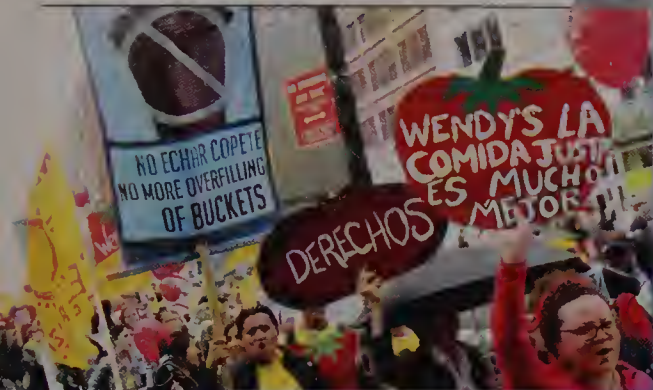
For more information, go to afscme3299.org.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS/RICH PEDRONCELLI

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On the Line



PHOTOS WWW.CIW-ONLINE.ORG



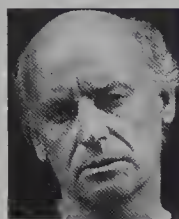
Tomato Pickers Pressure Wendy's

New York City

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers and hundreds of their supporters rallied in New York on May 18 to urge Wendy's to reach an agreement with tomato pickers. Wendy's is the only major fast food chain that has not come to terms with the coalition, which is seeking higher pay and greater health and safety protections for workers in the field.

For more information, go to ciw-online.org.

Why I Write



A confession, to begin. Ever since I was a baby, I tried to be a soccer player. I still am the best of the best, number one, but only during dreamtime when I'm asleep. As soon as I wake up I discover that my legs are made of wood, and I am left with no choice but to try to be a writer.

I tried, and I go on trying, to say more with less, to find words that are better than the wisest silence, naked words free of rhetorical clothing. Writing has been, and still is, quite difficult, but frequently it brings me deep feelings and great pleasure, and it carries me far from solitude and oblivion.

I tried, I try, to learn to fly in the dark, like a bat. I tried, I try, to vomit the lies we are obliged to swallow each day. And I tried, I try, to be disobedient when the masters of the world give orders against my conscience and against common sense.

I tried, I try, to accept that I cannot be neutral and cannot be objective, because I do not want to become an object, indifferent to human passion.

The great Latin American writer Eduardo Galeano, author of "Open Veins of Latin America" and, most recently, "Children of the Days," was in Madison, Wisconsin, on May 9, 2013, to accept an award for Lifetime Contribution to Critical Scholarship from the Havens Center for the Study of Social Structure and Social Change at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. © 2013 by Eduardo Galeano. He wrote the speech in English, and Mark Fried assisted in the editing for publication. Published by permission of the Havens Center and Susan Bergholz Literary Services, New York City and Lamy, New Mexico. All rights reserved. Permission is required for any use.

and the borders of time
* I tried, I try, to be stubborn enough to believe, in spite of all evidence humans, are badly built, but we are
* I tried, and I hope I shall always to the right side, that it happens to be left side, in the eternal fight of us against indignity.
* I tried, I try. It's worthy, believe me. We be able to change that famous sentence by my friend Bill, Bill Shakespeare: yes, life is a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying... everything.
* I tried, I try, to help the rediscovery of diversity in the human by racism, milit-

I tried, I try, to denounce that old proverb which says that man is the wolf of his fellow man. It is a lie. Wolves never kill wolves. We are the only animals that specialize in mutual extermination.

I tried, I try, to write about women and men who have a will for justice and an urge for beauty, unbound by the borders of maps and time, for they are my compatriots and my contemporaries, no matter where they were born or when they lived.

I tried, I try, to be stubborn enough to continue believing, in

spite of all the evidence, that we humans may be badly put together, but we are as yet unfinished.

I tried, and I hope I shall always try, to choose the right side, which happens to be the left side, in the eternal struggle of indignation against indignity.

I tried, I try. It's worth the effort, believe me, for we may just be able to change that famous sentence written by my friend Bill . . . Bill Shakespeare:

Yes, life is a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying . . . everything. ♦

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By Stephen C. Webster
Illustration by Peter Diamond

Peace Bites the Dust in Crawford



IT WAS 96 DEGREES ON ANOTHER miserable August day in Bush Country circa 2005 when Cindy Sheehan finally got the attention of CNN.

Cindy Sheehan, the lone peace mom who showed up in Crawford, Texas, and sat herself down in a ditch to protest the war, had just lit a fuse and didn't even know it. The peace bomb was set to blow right down the street from her own personal Ground Zero, where the man responsible for sending her son off to die was chopping up tree trimmings in front of news cameras and, for some godawful reason, running the whole of the world.

Cindy's arrival in Crawford was not the beginning of the resistance movement in Bush's hometown: Her sustained presence there was supported by a community of dedicated activists largely unknown to the media and the public. As one of the key architects of the reemergence of the peace movement later told me, "We made a city rise out of practically nothing" in the summer of 2005, setting a genuine Texas brushfire under the pants of the most powerful man on the planet.

Fast forward eight years. I'm standing outside the George W. Bush Presidential Library in Dallas. Cindy Sheehan is here again. I can't help but

Stephen C. Webster is the senior editor of The Raw Story and a freelance writer based in Austin, Texas. Follow him on Twitter @StephenCWebster.

remember what it was like to watch the rise and fall of Camp Casey out there on the Texas prairie. I covered the madness as a reporter for *The Lone Star Iconoclast*, and I tell you truly, it was more or less Peace-apalooza out there. Well over 15,000 people from all over the country suddenly flooded into this, this Peace-stock, barnstorming a town of just 700, each of them absolutely *thrilled* just to be dissenting in relative proximity to *him*.

And what had this movement become just eight years later? Looking out across the crowd gathered to bang on drums and shout about Bush and torture as all five living Presidents christened W.'s fancy new library, I couldn't help but feel depressed. True, that very day marked the official end of the Bush era, but as I soon realized, it also marked the official end of the peace movement as Americans knew it during those years.

It's not that the peace movement is any less relevant in 2013; on the contrary, its message is more pressing than ever. But as I watched Cindy speak to the crowd of about 200 activists gathered to protest the Bush Library, it occurred to me that no matter what they do, so long as the goal is to get the attention of media people like me, they are doomed.

As local news cameras buzzed around the crowd, Cindy spoke over a bullhorn and described her latest project, a nationwide bike ride called "Tour de Peace." For weeks she had been riding her bike across the country followed by a couple of minders, hoping this would somehow change America's warlike nature, or maybe just get some media attention. Her campaign for the Presidency on the Roseanne Barr ticket didn't do the trick. Neither did her failed run against Nancy Pelosi.

"Turns out I'm the only one riding," she glumly told protesters. "I'm also thinking, if Romney were President, or McCain were President, I'd have thousands of people riding with

me . . . If you want to join us, we have a couple extra bikes. You don't even have to bring your bike. But it gets lonely riding fifty to sixty miles a day."

Her observation pinched me, hard. *Of course she's right*, I thought. When I turned to look across Interstate 75, the snipers on the roofs of the SMU buildings reinforced her point. *The man these people helped elect in 2008 is over there right now praising the man they spent years raging against*. God, how awful.

The cabbie who gave me a ride home the night prior put it simply, amid one of those random and deep conversations that only strangers can have, and only in very rare instances. "The poor man today, he has no voice, and this is the problem," he told me through a thick Zimbabwean accent. "Obama, he should not do this thing, to come here. I do not know why he does this."

The protest rattled on, complete with drum circles and men in orange jumpsuits. The day's most haunting contribution came from a group of silently marching protesters dressed in black, wearing eerie white masks on their faces and placards around their necks bearing the names of people killed in Bush's wars. Two other protesters wearing large papier-mâché masks resembling Bush and Dick Cheney were arrested when they stepped into a street. Watching "Bush" and "Cheney" get arrested made for an amusing activism video, but little else.

Overall, the scene could not have been more different from 2005, when thousands of people were streaming into Crawford just to sit down across the street from folks they disagreed with and shout at one another for hours on end. Even the Republicans were energized to just come and stew in Crawford for a while, making a big show of it for no apparent reason. To think, the whole insanity was brought about by one anguished mother and a tiny group of activists from the Dallas Peace Center, who somehow got the inspi-

ration to set up shop in Crawford over a year before Cindy showed up.

At that moment under the blazing Texas sun, the peace movement seemed truly alive again, for the first time in my life. It seemed to be making a difference, breaking Karl Rove's grip on the American media's post-9/11 narrative. Yet, by April 2013, Sheehan was riding a bicycle across the country by herself, while the handful of activists who once helped her capture the whole world's attention busied themselves making videos of their friends getting arrested in costume.

The night before the Bush Library protest, I caught up with Leslie Harris, the solitary organizing force behind what was officially dubbed "The People's Response to the Bush Library," a four-day series of events articulating the peace movement's message. It was moments after a screening of the heart-wrenching documentary *Body of War*, about Iraq veteran Tomas Young, who was shot while riding topside in an unarmored Humvee. Harris looked dog tired.

Every few minutes as we spoke, someone would walk by and say: "Leslie, oh my gosh, please get some sleep!" or, "You're still up? Gee, go to bed already!" and she couldn't help but admit that the event was taking its toll on her. An attempt to reach her mobile phone earlier in the day revealed that her voice mail was completely full. Harris had been pressed into service by the understaffed Dallas Peace Center.

"I was appointed by a group of people that were having lunch together, and I guess they couldn't decide who to hit up," she told me. "Since I wasn't there, they made a group decision and let me know about it. Actually, they sort of delegated it to me. I was informed after the fact, you could say."

Then I hit her with a question she wasn't prepared for: "What the hell happened to the peace movement?" Leslie looked a little taken aback,

then let out a deep sigh. "It seems like we had a lot of team players, if you know what I mean," she said. "The only real new blood around here are a few folks from Occupy, but even most of them didn't stick around." Then she really dropped the dime: The Dallas Peace Center is "on the brink of insolvency," Leslie said.

Peace, it would seem, is hanging up a Going Out of Business sign.

Obama came to Dallas on Bush's special day because there is no resistance movement to speak of. There is, as the cabbie says, no voice for the poor man on the Texas prairie anymore. And the media, they long ago lost interest in the peace movement's message, especially once viewers tuned out, turned off, and clicked away. The Iraq War was ending, so who cares? I heard this meme from colleagues in the media over and over again. Clearly, Cindy Sheehan and her band of protesters didn't matter that much anymore—hell, maybe

they'd even discredited themselves, for whatever reason—and since nobody's reading stories about them anyway, let's move on. That's how the peace movement died: not with a bang, but with thousands of tiny edits.

The peace movement's fatal mistake, I realized that April day in Dallas, was focusing on forming *allies* instead of creating *friendships*.

What the Dallas peace activists, and the peace movement as a whole, so sorely lacked is a real-live community of friends and neighbors and a real service that helps their community, wherever it may be. This is why Occupy Wall Street survives today as Occupy Sandy. Occupy's foreclosure protests were far more useful than banging on drums in front of reporters who don't otherwise give a rat's ass. It's also why CodePink keeps on trucking. "If it weren't for these ladies, I don't know what I'd do," Desiree Fairouz, the

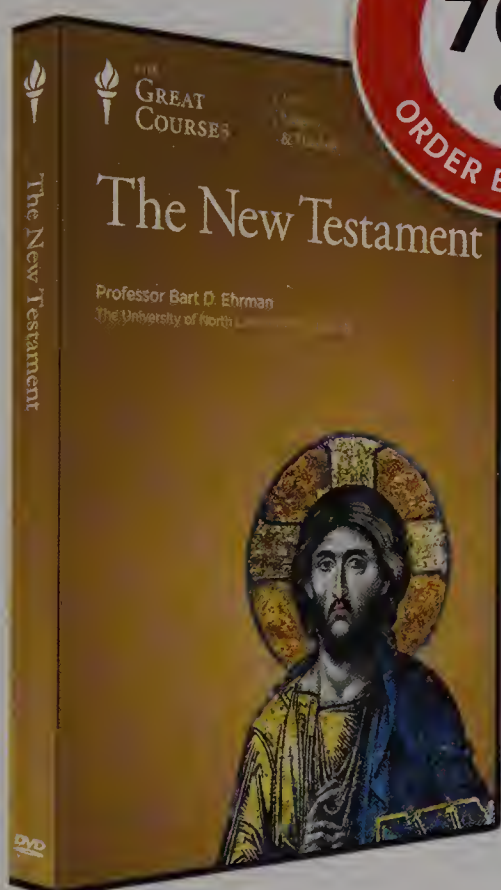
CodePink protester who got in Condoleezza Rice's face with blood-covered hands, told me in 2006. "They're like my new family and I'd do anything for them."

The last time a proper American resistance movement really committed to forming a community and becoming a lasting presence, we witnessed the birth of the Black Panthers, who found success through a free breakfast program. But after the government realized they were truly becoming a threat, the FBI cracked down hard and fast, a clear sign that *something* was working there. And if it worked for militant blacks in the '60s and '70s, by God it can work for the peace people today.

Help the community, make friends out of your neighbors, and when it's time to conquer the streets in the name of peace, the numbers may be with you.

That's a better bet than a lonely bike ride. ♦





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By Christopher D. Cook
Illustration by Wesley Allsbrook

Nutrition, Inc.



WHEN THOUSANDS OF THE nation's nutritionists gathered in Philadelphia for the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics' 2012 annual conference, they plunked down \$300 apiece to hear the latest thinking on food and health. Many were surprised to find that this thinking included a hefty portion of nutritional advice from food corporations that were major sponsors of the event.

The conference featured panel sessions led by industry groups such as the National Dairy Council, and some twenty-three speakers with documented industry ties, while the conference center sported tent-sized informational booths featuring an array of America's top food and beverage corporations, which had ponied up thousands of dollars for the chance to share their opinions on nutrition. As longtime dietitian Debra Riedesel explains, the Academy's confer-

Christopher D. Cook is a contributing writer for The Progressive and an award-winning journalist whose writing has appeared in Harper's, Mother Jones, The Economist, the Los Angeles Times, and elsewhere. He is the author of "Diet for a Dead Planet: Big Business and the Coming Food Crisis." He worked as a researcher on the Eat Drink Politics report. Contact him through www.christopherdcook.com.

ences feature “involvement in educational sessions by the very corporations responsible for creating the worst foods and beverages available on the planet. . . . These multinational corporations were actually teaching the sessions to those of us responsible for educating the public.”

The Chicago-based Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics describes itself as “the world’s largest organization of food and nutrition professionals,” devoted to educating the public and safeguarding the dietetics profession. But a list of its top funders and sponsors reads like a who’s who of the American food and beverage industries—the same corporations that many experts blame for causing chronic, often life-shortening diseases among millions of Americans each year.

The group’s growing roster of corporate backers includes the National Cattlemen’s Beef Association, processed food giants ConAgra and General Mills, and Kellogg. Other major funders are Kraft Foods, Nestlé, Coca-Cola, and PepsiCo. A recent in-depth report from the group Eat Drink Politics, called “Now a Word from Our Sponsors,” found that between 2001 and 2011, the Academy’s food industry sponsors shot up from ten to thirty-eight.

Industry involvement in the Academy is far-reaching—from sponsorship of the institution and its conferences, to co-branding of educational materials and products, to designing curriculum used to certify registered dietitians.

The public health stakes of this influence are high: heart disease, stroke, diabetes, and other diet-related ailments “are among the most common, costly, and preventable of all health problems,” according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention—killing millions each year and saddling the nation’s health care system with costs in excess of \$100 billion annually.

As the chief institution producing

diet-related advice for Americans, the Academy plays a major role in shaping nutritional opinion and practice. The Academy’s messages “are all science-based,” says media relations manager Ryan O’Malley.

In a detailed response to the Eat Drink Politics report, the Academy stated, “Sponsors do not influence the Academy’s decision-making process nor do they affect policy positions. All materials are reviewed by registered dietitians within the Academy as well as outside member

The Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics lets Kellogg and Pepsi give advice on how kids can eat right.

experts in areas of specialization, as needed.”

But a closer look at the group’s conferences and educational materials shows extensive corporate involvement, often in ways that benefit the products they sell.

The Academy’s charitable foundation sells “nutrition symposia” sponsorships at its annual meeting for \$50,000 apiece, according to the Eat Drink Politics report. In 2012, Nestlé, a top marketer of bottled water, presented a session on “Optimal Hydration.” And at the annual

meeting of the Academy, the Corn Refiners Association (lobbyists for high fructose corn syrup) sponsored three informational sessions.

The Academy’s “Kids Eat Right” program features kids’ meal menus and advice from corporations such as Kellogg and PepsiCo, both makers of products widely criticized for being too sugar laden.

“Through this sponsorship, the companies are attempting to counter any potential criticism by positioning their products as being healthy for children,” the report says.

The Academy also allows major food corporations such as Coca-Cola, ConAgra, Kraft, Nestlé, and PepsiCo to teach accredited continuing education courses to dietitians as part of their professional development and credentialing process, the report says.

“The food industry’s deep infiltration of the nation’s top nutrition organization raises serious questions not only about that profession’s credibility, but also about its policy positions,” the report argues. “The nation is currently embroiled in a series of policy debates about how to fix our broken food system. A 74,000-member health organization has great potential to shape that national discourse—for better and for worse.”

When the report gained coverage in *The New York Times*, Academy president Ethan A. Bergman responded, “For the record, I support the Academy’s [corporate] sponsorship program, as does the Board of Directors and our members. . . . Let me make it clear that the Academy does not tailor our messages or programs in any way due to influence by corporate sponsors, and this report does not provide evidence to the contrary.”

However, independent surveys of dietitians show that support for the Academy’s corporate sponsorships is mixed, at best. In one survey, a majority of respondents agreed that corporate sponsorship has a “negative impact on the public’s perception” of the Academy, their profession, and

their “personal credibility.” Another found that while only 13 percent of dietitians opposed corporate sponsorship categorically, 68 percent said their view would depend on who the sponsors are—and a majority found three current sponsors, Coca-Cola, Mars, and PepsiCo, to be unacceptable.

The Academy’s top funders, called partners and sponsors, not only gain significant access for their dollars. They also get to brand themselves as leaders in health and nutrition.

Coca-Cola’s “Heart Truth Campaign,” for instance, involves fashion shows of women wearing red dresses with Diet Coke logos displayed prominently in the backdrop—a high-visibility marketing event promoted by both the Academy and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Another instance of partner co-branding is the National Dairy Council’s “3-Every-Day of Dairy Campaign,” which the report calls “a marketing vehicle for the dairy industry disguised as a nutrition program.” The partnership consists of several fact sheets that bear the Academy logo, demonstrating the value of the group’s seal of approval.

The Academy insists this co-branding doesn’t compromise its integrity: “All materials that contain the Academy logo are reviewed by the Academy to ensure messages are consistent with Academy positions, statements, and philosophies.”

Other privileges of major funders include marketing and P.R. opportunities like Academy conference field trips to company headquarters. At a pre-conference “workshop” last year, dietitians were invited to “take a trip to Hershey, Pennsylvania, to experience the science of chocolate at the Hershey Company’s Chocolate Lab . . . [and] visit the Hershey Story Museum,” according to a brochure on the Academy website. The visit was billed, “From Nature to Nutri-

tion: A Hands-on Exploration of Natural Cocoa from the Bean to Health Benefits,” and was listed in the program as “Planned with Academy Partner: Hershey Center for Health & Nutrition.” The Academy offered dietitians continuing education units for this full-day field trip to the corporate chocolate factory.

The Academy says the event was “planned in collaboration with Hershey but was funded by the Academy and its Center for Professional Development.” Educational credit, it says, “was given only for portions of the program that met the Academy’s established educational criteria.”

Educating dietitians and nutritionists is one of the Academy’s foremost endeavors: In fact, to become a registered dietitian one must take Academy-affiliated credentialing classes, some of which are provided by food and beverage corporations.

One of the Academy’s many offshoots, the Commission on Dietetic Registration, provides dietitians with Continuing Professional Education credits from a roster of “accredited providers.” These accredited educators include some of the nation’s largest food and beverage corporations, such as Coca-Cola, ConAgra, General Mills, Kraft, Nestlé, and PepsiCo.

Coca-Cola’s Beverage Institute for Health and Wellness, for instance, offers an accredited continuing education course called “Addressing Questions about Aspartame and Stevia Sweeteners.” Among the course learning objectives: “Communicate science-based information about the potential roles of low- and no-calorie sweeteners in a healthful diet.”

Another Coca-Cola continuing education class, “Promoting Healthy Bones: Sorting Out the Science,” obscures the negative role of caffeinated and carbonated beverages in bone health. In one piece of required reading, Coca-Cola interviews an osteoporosis expert about whether caffeine prevents proper calcium absorption and thus diminishes bone health. The

doctor responds, “A moderate amount of caffeine isn’t harmful to bone health as long as people also consume enough calcium.”

Later in the interview, Coca-Cola asks the doctor, “Some people believe that sparkling soft drinks, particularly colas, adversely affect bone health. Is this true?” Her answer: “No.”

The industry’s growing influence on the Academy has sparked a rebellion among many dietitians, both current and former members of the group. They say the Academy’s acceptance of corporations’ dollars and nutritional advice is hurting the dietetics profession—and has real-world impacts as well. Registered dietitian Carla Caccia echoes what many of her colleagues are asking: “How can consumers trust us when our professional organization partners with junk food companies?”

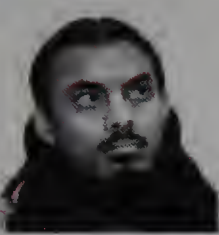
In one high-profile battle detailed in the report, the Academy gave a cold shoulder to New York City’s initiative to limit soda sizes to combat obesity and related health problems. In May 2012, the Academy issued a press release titled “In Wake of New York Soda Ban Proposal, Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics Encourages Education, Moderation.” Instead of supporting actions to combat the health effects of soda consumption, the nation’s largest nutrition and dietetics institution called for ongoing study, saying it had “convened a working group to examine the effectiveness of measures like proposed bans and taxes that are designed to influence consumers’ purchases and their potential impact on people’s health.”

But piles of scientific research may not be enough to convince the group. As the release went on to say, “Even after we have more science-based information about measures like New York’s, it is vital that we as registered dietitians educate consumers about the components of a healthful eating plan and help people make informed decisions that will positively affect their health.”

CLOSE GUANTÁNAMO NOW



Mansoor Muhammed
Ali Qattaa
Cleared for release 2007



Muieen A Deen Abd al
Fusal Abd al Sattar
Held without charge since 2002



Musa'ab al Madhwani
Tortured in CIA black site



Shaker Aamer
Cleared for release 2007



Adnan Farhan Latif
Died waiting
for justice 2012



Adel Bin Ahmed Bin
Ibrahim Hikiml
Cleared for release 2007



Sanad al Kazimi
Tortured in CIA prisons



Abdul Khaliq Al
Baidhani
Cleared for release 2006

166 men remain imprisoned at Guantanamo. Most are on hunger strike and for many it is more than 100 days that they have been refusing food. Some are near death, many imprisoned for more than ten years. They have lost hope of ever being released, although a majority were cleared to leave years ago. As Adnan Latif, a detainee, wrote during an earlier hunger strike, "Where is the world to save us from torture? Where is the world to save the hunger strikers?" Mr. Latif was cleared for release as well, but he died in September 2012, still waiting for justice.

President Obama had said nothing about Guantanamo for years. Facing a growing outcry, he blames Congress for blocking closure. Even under Congress' existing criteria, however, Obama could have released most of the detainees years ago.

He closed the office responsible for processing prisoners' releases; made it harder for lawyers to meet with their clients by recently banning commercial flights to the prison and barring emergency calls by attorneys to the detainees; ordered forced feeding through excruciating means and by strapping prisoners down (a violation of medical ethics and torture in itself); and authorized an April 13, 2013 assault in which guards fired rubber bullets on hunger strikers. Obama does not need Congressional approval: as Commander-in-Chief, he has the power to shut the prison down now.

The continuing torture at Guantanamo is part of larger and alarming developments. When he ran for office, Obama promised to restore the rule of law. Instead he has claimed and exercised unchecked executive powers beyond what George Bush used. He refuses to prosecute officials for their use of torture, yet aggressively prosecutes any whistle-blowers who expose war crimes, most flagrantly in the torture, slander and draconian legal charges against Bradley Manning. By signing the National Defense Authorization Act of 2012, Obama made indefinite detention, based on merely an accusation, the law of the land. These actions amount to institutionalizing and, in important respects, escalating the "Bush Doctrine."

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STOP THE TORTURE

In the name of "security," our government has tortured at least one hundred people to death. In the name of the "war on terror," thousands have been detained without a chance to face their accusers or even know what charges they are held under. In opposition to international law, Obama has implemented a policy of killing with drones across sovereign borders, deciding who will die by Hellfire missiles - without charges, trials, or any evidence other than what only Obama and his close advisers deem sufficient.

At least 176 children have been killed by drones in Pakistan alone and between 3-4,000 non-combatants have died in drone attacks. John Bellinger, who drafted Bush's justifications for targeted killings, concludes that the Obama administration has decided to kill people with drones so that they don't have to imprison them.

"PRESIDENTS CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO ARROGATE TO THEMSELVES THE POWER OF JUDGE, JURY AND EXECUTIONER."

Fundamental civil liberties have been eviscerated. In the name of safety, fear, or revenge, American presidents cannot be allowed to arrogate to themselves the power of judge, jury and executioner. Actions that utilize de facto torture, that run roughshod over the rule of law and due process, and that rain down terror and murder on peoples and

nations, amount to war crimes. Such actions cannot in any way be morally justified in the name of "protecting Americans." The lives of people living here are not more precious than any other people's lives.

It is up to the people to stand up for principle and morality when their institutions and public officials refuse to do so. The fates of those who are maimed or killed by our government's policies are inextricably intertwined with our own: we must listen and respond to their cry for justice. We demand the release of the cleared Guantanamo prisoners now, and an end to indefinite detention without charge for the others, before they lose their lives. **End the War Crimes and Violations of Fundamental Rights!**

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The Eat Drink Politics report added momentum to resistance among dietitians and nutritionists to industry influence over their profession's most prominent institution. One nascent group, Dietitians for Professional Integrity, launched a Facebook page this February that now boasts more than 3,900 "likes" and features daily stories and statements from dietitians who are criticizing—and sometimes parting ways with—the Academy.

The dissident group, the brainchild of Las Vegas dietitian Andy Bellatti, says it represents current and future dietitians "who do not support the current model of corporate sponsorships held by the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics. We believe these sponsorships pose a serious conflict of interest for a nutrition organization, and harm our credential and reputation."

Academy spokesman O'Malley isn't worried about industry influence. Members, he says, "are educat-

ed, experienced, and dedicated health professionals who base their advice and services on peer-reviewed science—and nothing else. As the nation's food and nutrition experts, they can distinguish facts from spin, and they follow the facts."

But Eat Drink Politics president Michele Simon says that since the report, "I've heard from many registered dietitians who are disgusted and are either not joining or refusing to renew their memberships in protest. In time, the Academy's leadership will have no other choice but to pay attention to its own constituents' complaints and remove these conflicting sponsorships, or else risk going out of business altogether."

Denise Julia Garbinski, a California-based dietitian, says the Academy's "ongoing demonstration of being in bed with agribusiness big food . . . just disgusts me to the point where I am choosing to vote with my dollars against supporting" it. "I don't attend their functions and am seri-

ously considering withdrawing my membership next year."

Nancy Bennett, a veteran dietitian with more than thirty-six years' experience, says she's also unlikely to renew her membership: "They need to hear the wake-up call from their membership before they are crushed by the stampede of registered dietitians leaving their organization." Bennett says all the corporate influence is destroying the credibility of her profession.

The Academy claims that its engagement with the food and beverage industries is constructive, but a growing number of dietitians aren't buying it. "For all the talk about the Academy sitting at the table with the food industry, I have yet to see one example of the Academy having a positive influence on the industry and public health," says Bellatti. "When you sit at the table with the food industry, they set the table and the menu and leave you with the check." ♦

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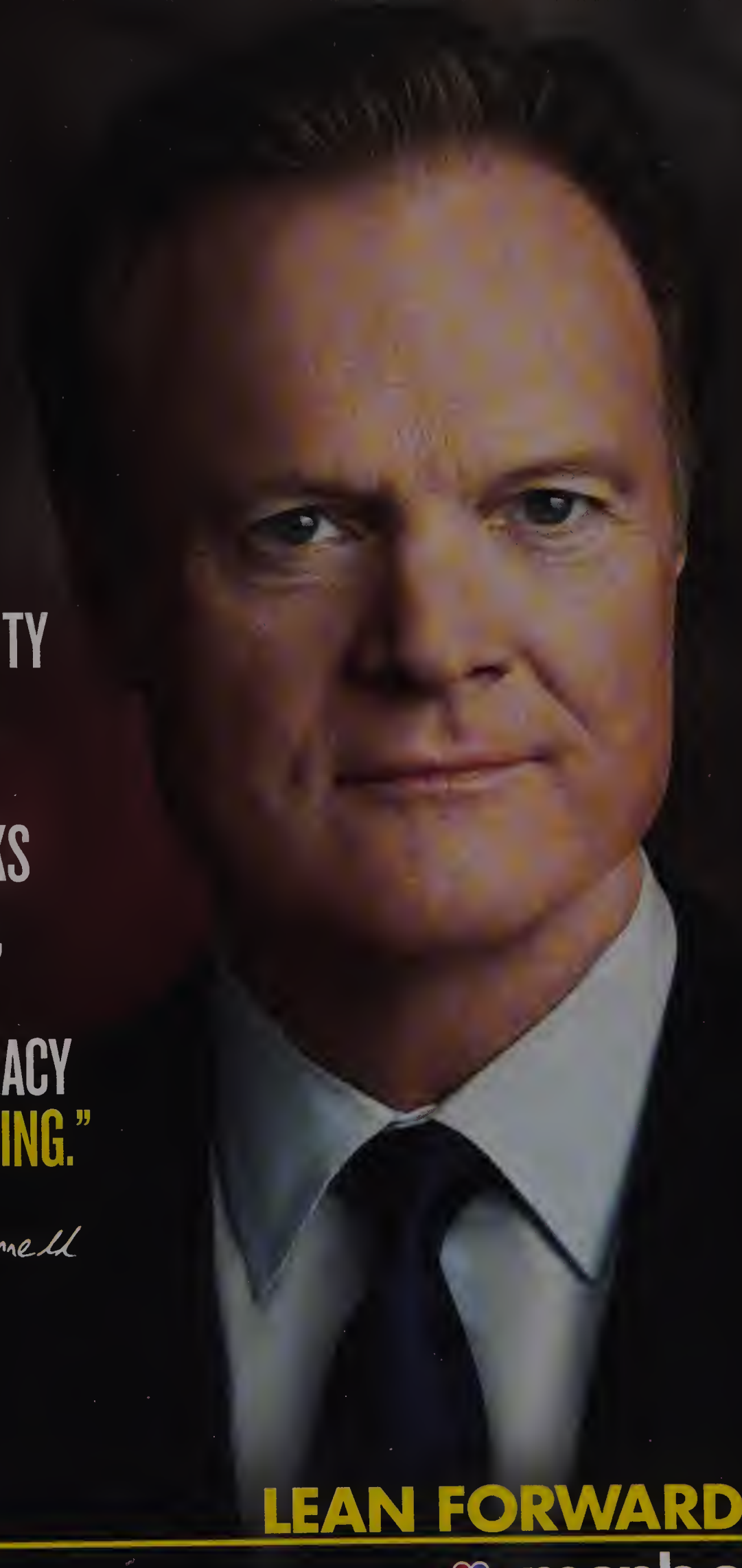
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A close-up portrait of Lawrence O'Donnell, a middle-aged man with short brown hair, wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and dark tie. He is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. The background is dark and out of focus.

**"ALTHOUGH A MAJORITY
OF SENATORS VOTED
FOR EXPANSION OF
BACKGROUND CHECKS
ON GUN PURCHASES,
IT WASN'T ENOUGH.
BUT IN OUR DEMOCRACY
WE GET TO KEEP TRYING."**

- Lawrence O'Donnell

LEAN FORWARD

LAWRENCE O'DONNELL, msnbc host



Brazil's Poor Pay World Cup Penalty

ON A WARM EVENING THIS PAST FEBRUARY, ABOUT 100 residents of the Bairro da Paz, a favela located on the periphery of the northeastern Brazilian city of Salvador da Bahia, gathered in a community center to hear a presentation by Ney Campello, Bahia's secretary of state for the World Cup. Perched on a hill not far from the city's airport, Bairro da Paz is one of Salvador's most politically active slums, and the crowd that evening included schoolteachers, health care workers, and youth activists anxious to hear firsthand how the 2014 World Cup would affect their community.

Campello seemed keenly aware of the tension that clung to the evening air as he cracked a few jokes before launching into a peppy speech on the multiple benefits of hosting soccer's greatest tournament. Residents patiently listened as he described plans that included creating thousands of construction and service jobs, recruiting volunteers, erecting canopies with giant TV screens for the matches, and providing free English lessons under a program called *Olá turista* ("Hello, tourist").

As Campello concluded his talk, several residents jumped from their seats for a turn at the microphone.

"What about the evictions?" asked a young man.

"Can you tell us about plans to build a road through our neighborhood?" asked a woman.

"We need health care and education, not mega-events," said an older man to applause.

Nearby, local journalist Paulo Almeida broadcast the

event live on Bairro da Paz's community radio station.

As a parade of residents made their claims, Campello seemed overwhelmed. "I have to get back to you with that," he kept repeating.

"We are not interested in waving Brazilian flags or volunteering for the World Cup," said longtime Bairro da Paz resident and community activist Rafael Lima after Campello had left. "We need jobs. We need education. We need land titles. We need health care. And we need to know where this road they are planning to build is going, and who will be affected."

Bairro da Paz is just one of many poor communities in Brazil facing evictions due to construction projects related to the 2014 World Cup, which will be held in twelve cities throughout the country, and the 2016 Summer Olympics, which will take place in Rio de Janeiro. Thousands of people in Brazil have already been expelled from their homes, many in the middle of the night, as bulldozers waited nearby to make room for roads, stadiums, and other infrastructure. Citizens have responded by creating a network of organizations to monitor and report abuses.

Maria Carrión, former senior producer for Democracy Now!, is a freelance journalist and documentary filmmaker based in Madrid.



MARIA CARRIÓN

Salvador's state-of-the-art stadium cost almost double the projected amount.

Raquel Rolnik, U.N. Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, warned in 2011 about large-scale human rights abuses committed across Brazil in the name of World Cup and Olympics construction. "I am particularly worried," she said, "about what seems to be a pattern of lack of transparency, consultation, dialogue, fair negotiation, and participation of the affected communities in processes concerning evictions undertaken or planned in connection with the World Cup and Olympics."

With legendary players like Pelé and a national soccer team revered for its graceful, inimitable style, Brazil is considered the world capital of soccer. In 2007, when the country was awarded the hosting of the 2014 World Cup, Brazilians celebrated enthusiastically. Then-president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, of the Workers Party, which has done much to eradicate extreme poverty, pledged that the Cup would help Brazil upgrade its faltering infrastructure, create thousands of jobs,

and promote the country internationally as a modern, dynamic and diverse place worth visiting and investing in. In 2009, Lula's impassioned speech before the International Olympic Committee also won Brazil the 2016 Summer Olympic Games.

Soccer fever still abounds in Brazil, but I found little enthusiasm for the World Cup during my visit to Salvador in February. Instead, reality has set in. As my taxi driver, a fervent soccer fan, told me on my first day, "I wish Argentina was hosting the World Cup instead, and that's coming from Argentina's eternal rival, a Brazilian."

According to estimates by the University of São Paulo, the World Cup and the Olympics will together cost Brazil about \$33 billion. This includes the massive overhaul of national transportation infrastructure such as airports, highways, train and metro lines, and urban public transport, and the construction of stadiums and other sporting facilities. The government has promised that these investments will benefit all Brazilians not just through improved infrastruc-

ture but also through long-term indirect benefits from tourism and foreign investment.

But many Brazilians are questioning the government's projections. They point to South Africa and the United Kingdom as countries that ended up with massive debt and little return on their investments.

The Brazilian government's promises that construction projects would attract private financing have largely failed to materialize, so taxpayers are picking up most of the tab. Of twelve stadiums built or revamped whose costs have almost tripled their projected budgets, ten are publicly financed and between four and eight will probably become "white elephants" similar to those that now dot the landscape in places like Athens and Johannesburg.

Salvador, Brazil's third largest city, will host the World Cup for one week. The city has made commitments to FIFA, the soccer governing body, to upgrade its crumbling infrastructure, by building two access

roads to the airport, completing a subway line whose construction has languished for twelve years while its original \$500 million budget vanished, and building a \$300 million state-of-the-art stadium, the Fonte Nova.

One criticism echoed by many residents is the city's decision to raze its old stadium, which offered public sporting facilities, including athletic fields, basketball courts, and the state's only public Olympic-size swimming pool, where Bahia's professional swimmers have trained. There are no plans to rebuild these installations.

The new stadium was built by a private-public consortium that includes the Brazilian construction giant Odebrecht, also involved in reconstruction efforts in Iraq and New Orleans, diamond mining in Angola, and oil production in Venezuela. Odebrecht, which is building many of the other stadiums for the Cup, has advanced the money along with another company, OAS, owned in part by the uncle of Salvador Mayor A. C. M. Neto. The government pledged to reimburse the full amount while allowing the companies to exploit the venue for the next thirty-five years—a sweet deal by all accounts.

"We came to this arrangement because the state does not have the cash right now to build the stadium," explains José Sergio Gabrielli, secretary of state for planning, whose office is responsible for seeking resources and planning for many of these projects. Gabrielli also acknowledged to me that except for the stadium and a pedestrian bridge linking it to the historic center, none of the other promised infrastructure designed to improve transportation will be ready for 2014. Instead, the city will declare World Cup week a holiday and create special transportation corridors.

With 3.5 million residents, Salvador was Brazil's first capital city and the point of entry for millions of African slaves brought by the Portuguese to toil in the sugar fields. Tourists are attracted

by its unique Afro-Brazilian culture and a carnival that rivals that of Rio de Janeiro. But Salvador is also a deeply divided city. The gap between the very wealthy and the very poor remains dismal, public health and education face shortages of every kind, and the city suffers from high rates of violent crime.

Salvador's population is overwhelmingly black, yet the city has never elected a black mayor. Its political and economic power structures are controlled by whites and remain practically out of reach for black Brazilians. The upcoming World Cup has brought these inequalities to the surface. On the one hand, Afro-Brazilian culture is used by the city and by FIFA to attract visitors, but on the other, most black Brazilians are excluded from participation. The choice of Ivete Sangalo, a popular white singer, to perform Brazil's national anthem during the inauguration of Salvador's stadium has offended many Afro-Brazilians. As renowned black activist Silvio Humberto, co-founder of the Steve Biko Cultural Institute, who was recently elected to Salvador's city council, told me: "We are not invited to this party."

Humberto's words echoed throughout my stay in Salvador as I interviewed ordinary Brazilians about the World Cup. Perhaps the most publicized example of this exclusion is the ban imposed by FIFA against Salvador's emblematic *Bahianas da Acarajé*, black women in lace dresses who sell African-influenced food on the streets. The ban, designed to benefit official sponsors such as Coca-Cola and McDonald's, will apply not just inside the stadium but also within a two-kilometer perimeter.

The soccer organization "has shown a total lack of respect for our local culture and for what we represent," says Rita dos Santos, president of the Association of Bahiana Sellers of Acarajé, who has circulated a petition on Change.org. "Ten *Bahianas* worked in the old stadium and now we are told they cannot return because

of the ban and because they did not design any space for them. So now people will eat hamburgers instead?"

The FIFA-imposed ban will also affect the livelihood of hundreds of other vendors who work the streets of the city center, within the exclusion zone. The city is already trying to regulate street vending for the Cup by corralling sellers in officially designated areas. "They will put me in a corner, hidden from view, so how can I make a living?" says Vera Luzia Mesias dos Santos, who braids hair in the central Praça da Sé.

One of the more controversial projects is a pedestrian bridge linking the stadium to Pelourinho, Salvador's historic neighborhood, a UNESCO World Heritage site and Salvador's main tourist attraction. With its rows of bright pastel colonial houses interspersed with Renaissance churches, Pelourinho's cobblestoned streets are lined with souvenir stores and restaurants, and many of its buildings house Afro-Brazilian cultural and social centers. Its streets abound with street vendors, capoeira groups, and musicians. Its prettiest square, Largo do Pelourinho, was the site of the first slave market in the Americas.

But Afro-Brazilians describe the place as an empty shell, a "shopping center for tourists," and they hardly visit the neighborhood. In the 1990s, as the city began to restore the crumbling buildings, it expelled its black residents to peripheral favelas with no infrastructure or social services. Jecilda Melo is one of the survivors. In 2002, she founded the Association of Residents and Friends of Pelourinho, and she and other families fought to remain in their homes. "We were a group of women who said: 'No, we are not leaving,'" Melo says as she sits in the association's small headquarters. Taking their case to the local authorities, they finally obtained the permanent right to remain in the homes, although the land still belongs to the government. "They do not

want poor people living here; we are an embarrassment to them," she tells me. "And during the World Cup, they will want us out of sight."

The projected pedestrian bridge, with a conveyor belt, air conditioning, and a \$100 million price tag, would ferry fans from the matches to the center of Pelourinho, bypassing poor areas below. "Meanwhile, the mortals underneath will receive the empty cans and the banana peels," says Melo, wondering how the cash-strapped city will maintain such a costly bridge.

Up the street, Maura Cristina da Silva, a housing rights activist, ponders the fate of her community as she sips coffee in her home on the ground floor of a restored colonial building she and another six families occupied several years ago. "Mostly we are black women with kids who have been expelled or priced out of the housing market," she says. "We are fighting for the right to remain."

Da Silva forecasts a "major social cleansing effort in the historic district" by the city before the World Cup.

"They will try to get rid of the street people, the *meninos da rua*, and anyone else who does not fit into their postcard image," she says. "The message is: Poor and black, out of sight."

Bairro da Paz, where many of Pelourinho's evicted ended up, is particularly vulnerable to forced removals because more than 95 percent of its residents do not have titles to their homes or the land they are built on, which means that they would receive little or nothing in compensation. Much of that land is privately owned, and a 2010 city plan showed a large section targeted for eviction.

"Even the building we are in right now has no title and could be expropriated," explains Marinalva Souza Santos, president of Bairro da Paz's neighborhood association, as we sit in the association's community center.

"There is a revolving door between politics and real estate, and the World Cup is the perfect excuse to go ahead with development plans that had little



MARIA CARRIÓN

Bairro da Paz activists outside their community center, threatened by luxury condo construction.

chance a few years ago due to local opposition," says housing rights lawyer Manoel Nascimento.

These plans are in plain sight as I approach Bairro da Paz on a hot summer morning. The view from my bus window as we veer off the main highway and dip into Bairro da Paz shows a landscape of inequality. In the forefront, tiny compact brick and wood houses cling to steep hills connected by almost vertical staircases carved into the dirt. Sewage flows down potholed streets, and small children play in the dirt. Just a few hundred yards away, dozens of high-rise luxury condominiums, some still under construction, encircle the favela: The impossibly wealthy elites, barricaded behind electrified fences and protected by private armed guards, loom over the poor underneath.

"Unfortunately for the residents, they are sitting on prime property,"

explains Nascimento, who works with CEAS, a liberation theology nonprofit. "This area is highly valuable: It is close to the airport and to the beaches. The sales offices for these high-rises airbrushed Bairro da Paz from their promotional photos and replaced it with a green area. That definitely gave away their real intentions."

Nascimento describes his surprise when he saw the buildings begin to go up in 2010 because the only way in and out of them is through nearby favelas.

"Soon afterward, the local government unveiled its World Cup development plans and it all became clear: They had designed a road to service these closed-gated communities," he says. "This is the road that would split Bairro da Paz in two and displace hundreds of families."

A year before the World Cup kick-off, communities like Bairro da Paz throughout Brazil have issued the first red card of the tournament. It may not be the last. ♦

By Erik Lorenzsonn
Illustration by Yuko Shimizu

Wind Takes Iowa by Storm



THE WINDS THAT SWEEP through central Iowa's corn and soybean fields are a powerful force—as I almost found out the hard way.

“You might want to hold on to that door,” cautioned Bill Sutton, a laconic middle-aged farmer dressed in jeans and a plaid button-down, speaking to me from the driver's seat of his pickup truck. I was blithely opening the passenger door to get out after we had parked on a dirt service road in the middle of a cornfield. Next to us loomed our destination: a 400-foot-tall steel wind turbine.

His warning came too late, and my mistake almost cost me my fingers: The door slammed back at me, propelled by the roiling winds outside.

Take two: I got out more gingerly and, shirt flapping in the gusts, I walked with Sutton to the base of the behemoth before us. I stood a moment to take in the whooshing blades, the droning motor, and the vertiginous tower. It was the first time I had been this close to a wind turbine.

Sutton was giving me a tour of his brainchild, the Junction Hilltop community wind farm. A few miles

Erik Lorenzsonn is an editorial intern with The Progressive, an online producer with Wisconsin Public Radio, and a freelance journalist who lives in his hometown of Madison, Wisconsin. He is the creator and host of Movement, an upcoming podcast that explores social mobilization. Follow him on Twitter @eriklorenzsonn.

down the road stood another wind farm that Sutton had a hand in developing. The two projects—the fruit of a decade's worth of planning, lobbying, financing, and pure doggedness on the part of Sutton and his partners—are the first wind farms of their kind in Iowa: utility-scale, yet locally owned. But while these two projects are unprecedented, they aren't surprising. They were developed by farmers from Iowa, a place where open-minded and entrepreneurial figures like Sutton have quietly turned their state into a leader of wind power generation.

California and Texas have more total installed wind power capacity than any other state. But the numbers show that Iowa—ranked third in total installed capacity—is an unassuming leader. Approximately 25 percent of its generated power comes from wind, more than in any other state. It also leads the country in wind-related jobs, with more than 6,000 people employed in the industry. What's more, Iowa shows no sign of lagging. In mid-May, Governor Terry Branstad announced the largest economic development investment ever in the state's history: One of the state's two utilities plans to spend \$1.9 billion to construct 656 new turbines.

Because of the crisis of global climate change, the need for renewable energy has crystallized, and wind energy—a cost-effective, dependable, and scalable resource—remains at the fore of the discussion. In Sutton's concise words: "It's clean, it's reliable. It just makes a lot of sense."

To understand how Iowa got to where it is, start with those potent gales. Simply by its geography, Iowa is an ideal place to harvest the wind—something farmers have been doing since the 1880s.

"There are a lot of people who grew up, or their parents grew up, with wind power—providing water pumping for their livestock, in many cases power for their radio and lights

before the Rural Electrification Administration was established," says Harold Prior, the director of the Iowa Wind Energy Association. "Every time they walk to their mailbox they're reminded of their history of wind power."

The seeds of the modern wind industry, however, weren't planted until 1973, when the OPEC oil embargo caused fossil fuel prices to soar—and subsequently, demand for alternative energy to soar, as well.

Iowa generates a higher percentage of energy from wind than any other state—and more wind-related jobs.

Iowa wind power got a boost when the state legislature passed the country's first renewable portfolio standards in 1983. And in 1992, Iowa Senator Chuck Grassley got Congress to pass a production tax credit at the federal level—a policy that today has become the industry's lifeblood.

While politicians fostered wind from the top, early innovators in the industry drove growth from the bottom. Entrepreneurs began to develop not just turbines for individual property owners, but fully fledged wind

farms. "We've had a lot of entrepreneurs that have gone out and made the deals," says Mike Bergey, an Iowa retailer of small turbines. "Putting together these wind farm projects, particularly in the early days, was a heck of a challenge."

Iowa's wind portfolio grew at a steady pace through the '80s and '90s. Then, in the mid-2000s, it picked up speed. The federal production tax credit was renewed, Iowa passed its own production tax credit, more powerful turbines were hitting the market, fossil fuel prices were rising, and, for the first time, Iowa's two big for-profit utilities began to invest heavily in wind.

In 2008, about 7 percent of Iowa's energy came from wind power. Now that share has almost quadrupled.

A common denominator throughout Iowa's growth has been strong public support for wind development. Poll numbers show that Iowans overwhelmingly favor wind power development, largely due to the jobs it provides and other economic benefits. Even more remarkably, Iowa does not have the groundswell of resistance to wind turbine construction that has emerged in other states.

Take Wisconsin, its neighbor to the northeast: The Badger State's wind portfolio is nearly stagnant, due not only to unreceptive political leaders but also to groups of citizens that fundamentally oppose wind farm construction.

Some critics of wind turbine construction around the country raise some serious objections. The birds and bats killed from flying into turbines, for example, represent a very real problem. Wind turbines kill thousands of birds every year, from songbirds to (especially in California and other western states) raptors. But as wind developers become more mindful in where they site turbines, and as turbine technology improves, the rate of deaths has decreased. Wind advocates also

counter that the damage caused by fossil fuels to animal populations far outweighs the damage wrought by turbines, and note that power lines, buildings, and car exhaust kill more birds by an order of magnitude.

Another argument against wind turbines is an aesthetic one. Homeowners in Cape Cod famously cried foul at offshore wind development in the late 2000s, partially because it tainted their view of the ocean. The aesthetic argument also arises in the Midwest. (Although an Iowa State University professor, Lulu Rodriguez, speculated to me that farmers may generally appreciate the “high-tech look” turbines give their cornfields.)

Then there’s “wind turbine syndrome,” a widely publicized phenomenon in which people who live near turbines say they develop headaches, nausea, and a spate of other symptoms (more than 200 have been catalogued). Medical research, however, does not support the idea that living near wind turbines has negative health consequences.

“If you believed all that stuff, you’d think people’d be dying in droves in Iowa,” says Paul Gipe, an author and wind energy advocate from California. “They’d be lying in the street, and you’d have to pick them up and take them to the sanatorium.”

In Iowa, it’s common to encounter robust debate over where specifically a turbine should be sited, or to occasionally encounter kvetching over aesthetics. But aversion to wind turbines on principle seems pretty invisible. Citizens seem generally enthusiastic for wind farm development. Says Bergey: “If someone in Iowa came out and said, ‘Wind farms are bad,’ it’s likely they’ll be run out of town.”

Why the exceptional support for wind in Iowa? It’s difficult to say with certainty, but there are theories.

In Iowa, the areas with the best wind resource are rural and sparsely inhabited, which may lead farmers to

more easily recognize distributed benefits from wind, since wind turbines represent an economic boon that can be easily constructed near them, whereas a coal plant, for example, could be in only one central location. A thinly spread population could also mean that landowners don’t mobilize to object to wind turbines.

Another reason that Iowa enjoys such a glowing public perception of

Support for wind is notably bipartisan. “If someone in Iowa came out and said, ‘Wind farms are bad,’ it’s likely they’ll be run out of town.”

wind energy could be the state’s history—that same legacy of early farmers availing themselves of the wind to pump water and power their radios. “It’s kind of a part of Iowa’s history and fabric,” says Bergey. “A lot of Iowans see it as a part of their legacy.”

Gipe would caution against attributing Iowa’s success to an ingrained set of values. “It’s also what the Danes say,” he says. “We’ve

always used wind energy. Period. End of discussion.’ But that’s oversimplification.” He does say, however, that states that don’t have a familiarity with wind might be more susceptible to anti-wind arguments. Since Iowa does have that familiarity, wind may not seem like such a threat.

Iowa’s public and political support for wind development is also notably bipartisan: The industry enjoys substantial support from both the right and the left. Consider Congressman Steve King, the outspoken fiscal conservative and Tea Party darling. He vehemently espouses renewable energy. In fact, his support for the production tax credit earns him scathing rebukes from fellow fiscal conservatives.

But bipartisanship over wind energy seems to dissipate outside of Iowa. Other state GOP-led governments aren’t as supportive of wind (In Wisconsin, Governor Scott Walker has been downright hostile). Bipartisanship can at times seem distant at the federal level too. While on the campaign trail in 2012, Mitt Romney won the favor of coal mining communities when he declared, “You can’t drive a car with a windmill on it.” (Governor Branstad didn’t mince words in response to Romney: “He needs to be educated as to how important this is.”)

Bill Sutton, for his part, is a proud conservative, fiscally and ideologically. (When he introduced me to his family, he mentioned that my magazine’s readership was largely liberal. His wife and son shook their heads in dismay.) He also lobbied for the passage of a production tax credit at both the state and federal level, and received a grant through President Obama’s stimulus package.

How does he reconcile his fiscal conservatism with wind subsidies?

“It’s a dilemma,” he told me, while cracking a wry grin as we drove away from Junction Hilltop. But in the case of wind energy, Sutton’s belief in the benefits of wind trumps his usual opposition to government meddling in markets.

Luther College, a small liberal arts school in the somnolent northeastern Iowa town of Decorah, is not the most obvious home for a utility-scale turbine. That's not for lack of wanting: For years, theology professor Jim Martin-Schramm and a coalition of environmentally minded students dreamed of such a machine to provide clean energy for their already energy-efficient institution.

But to actually get one installed was a long shot: If you aren't a large, for-profit corporation with a big tax liability or resources readily available to build a turbine, pursuing anything more ambitious than a small machine to help pay electricity bills is a tall order.

Martin-Schramm was cruelly reminded of this once when attending a wind energy conference. He was handed a small model of a Vestas machine by a company representative.

"And at the end of the show, he tells me, 'That's probably the only Vestas turbine you're ever going to get.'"

But since 2011, a General Electric turbine has been obstinately sitting atop a hill near campus, towering over the college. The machine, visible from miles away as one drives into Decorah, has come to define the community's landscape. "Certain students say they're just mesmerized by it," says Martin-Schramm. "They just sit and look at it."

And they know it has an impact: The machine provides a third of the college's consumption.

At the beginning of 2013, the production tax credit expired, and even though it was renewed by Congress a few days later, the wind industry ground to a halt—contracts were put on hold by the major developers, and hundreds of Iowans lost their jobs manufacturing

turbines.

Says Martin-Schramm, of the on-again, off-again nature of the tax credit: "It's just patently stupid. For the life of me, I don't know if it's the power of the fossil fuel industry to get legislators to do this yank-the-rug kind of thing, but it's just dumb."

One day, Martin-Schramm took students from his energy policy class on a field trip to a coal-burning power plant outside Decorah. When they arrived, they found the plant had shut down for the day—it was not generating any power.

"Why are you shut down?" Martin-Schramm asked one of the plant's supervisors. "Who's making electricity?"

"The man pointed and said, 'Well, look at that flag.' And there was a flag flying nearby that was—whoosh—totally straight out," Martin-Schramm recalls. "You see, every turbine within 270 miles was operating at full capacity." ♦

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WHATTHENMUSTWEDO.ORG

Now available from Chelsea Green Publishing

By Glenn H. Schnadt

A short biography of the author: age 87, served in the infantry during World War II and won a purple heart. Graduated from Grinnell College with a BA, and worked as an HONEST banker. Installed an 88-panel solar-heating system in January 2005. I still have most of my marbles.

My father was also an honest banker. During the '30s, he experienced three robberies. When caught and questioned as to why they chose banks, the answer was simple: "Because that's where the money is."

That is good advice now as well.

Thanks to our broker, the following information was provided by SIFMA – The Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association.

During the fourth quarter of 2012 the average daily share volume was 1.07 billion shares on the NYSE. The average dollar volume was \$33.2 billion.

For the NASDAQ the average daily volume was 1.7 billion shares. The Average dollar trading volume was \$53.9 billion.

Two senators—a Democrat and a Republican—are considering a .03% tax per dollar traded.

On that basis the NYSE volume of \$33,200,000,000 x .03% is \$996,000,000. That figure times 251 (NYSE days open for business) is \$249,996,000,000.

For the NASDAQ, it's the same formula. \$53.9 billion times .03% equals \$1,617,000,000. Once again times 251 equals \$405,867,000,000.

That is \$665,863,000,000 going to the US Treasury. That's a lot of scratch. We must remember we have \$16 TRILLION-plus debt.

If we assumed the US Treasury received no other funds directed to debt reduction, about 35 year would be needed to eliminate our debt.

None of us want additional taxes, yet polls show about 80 to 90% of us are very concerned about the debt. Would you be willing to pay a few bucks if your lifestyle contributes to our climate challenges, our continued use of oil-gas, and our obesity?

Let's discuss a recreation tax. NASCAR fans are thrilled

by the speed and perhaps a little blood being spilled. OK, an additional \$5.00 per ticket plus \$1,000 per car entry. Money goes directly to the US Treasury.

Midwest folks enjoy tractor pulls involving very heavy weights. A variety of fuels definitely add to our CO2 problem. We have other ways of "churning dirt." \$500 per event plus \$2.00/ticket. State collects, with half going to the U.S. Treasury.

Clean air – clean water. Outboard motors 25 HP or less no charge (as a fisherman I own a 25 HP 1990 outboard). \$2.00 per HP over 25. Inboard the same. State collects with ½ to US. Powered yachts at \$1,000 per foot. US collects.

Vehicles designed for camping and/or inboard living defeat our nation's need to greatly reduce our reliance on gasoline. Once again let's give a break to families that pull a simple folding camper. All other licensed vehicles to pay \$10/foot when they pay their annual state license fee. 50-50 state and federal split.

States provide recharging units at rest stops on major highways. All gas stations to provide a minimum of two recharging units. It is essential this be done ASAP if electric vehicles are to become practical and popular.

Our President could pronounce a day of mourning for oil companies that will have their exorbitant profits reduced.

Snowmobiles to be charged \$3.00 per horse power. 50-50 split.

All carbonated beverage to be charged two cents per ounce. The company producing the product remits monthly to US. Best we audit.

OK. Millions of us are now contributing to reducing our massive debt. Don't you feel better being part of the solution?

Finally, will our President please appoint a committee of architects, builders, trade unions, and environmental non-profits? No legislators. The goal of this committee should be to develop minimum standards for construction of a home. Heating, cooling, and lighting costs can be reduced 50%. The additional cost can be recovered in less than 10 years.

Glenn H. Schnadt, Richland Center, WI 53581.

THE PROGRESSIVE INTERVIEW

by Jen Sorensen

Alison Bechdel

Cartoonist Alison Bechdel, author of the legendary comic strip *Dykes to Watch Out For* and the bestselling graphic memoir *Fun Home*, has been traveling the country in support of her latest book, *Are You My Mother?* The new memoir, recently released in paperback, delves into Alison's complex relationship with her mother, frequently invoking the writings of Virginia Woolf and psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott.

In addition to appearing in The Progressive, Jen Sorensen's comics have been featured in a variety of publications, including NPR.org, Ms. Magazine, The Austin Chronicle, Daily Kos, The Los Angeles Times, The Village Voice, and many other alternative newspapers. She has won several awards from the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies, including First Place in 2012. She has also won the Grambs Aronson "Cartoonist with a Conscience" Award, and was named a 2012 Herblock Prize Finalist. Recently, Sorensen was named the winner of a 2013 Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award. A graduate of the University of Virginia, she lives in Austin, Texas, with her husband and cairn terrier.

I spoke with Alison via Skype one afternoon in early April, catching her at home in Vermont during a brief lull between trips to San Francisco and Montreal. We'd exchanged e-mails in the past, but had never met or talked to one another. Despite her busy schedule, she chatted with me for upward of an hour, sounding more relaxed than the nerve-wracked portrayal of herself in her autobiographical comics.

Q: Your schedule sounds pretty hectic.

Alison Bechdel: Yeah, it is! It's crazy. I accept that this is what you have to do in this day and age to promote a book, and I'm lucky to get invited to do this stuff, but it's still a huge drain.

Q: You drew *Dykes to Watch Out For* for twenty-five years, which is a good, long run for an alternative strip. Now that you've moved on to graphic novels, do you miss it? Is the lack of a regular deadline a blessing or a curse?

Bechdel: It's both. I wouldn't go back to those deadlines; they were really starting to crush my soul. But I do miss the sense of achievement.

Q: There is something nice about getting your work out there on a regular basis. At the same time, I've always thought it would be kind of a luxury to have all that time to make something perfect.

Bechdel: When I was writing my first memoir, *Fun Home*, I was also doing the comic strip, and having that other, constant pull on me to do something else was very motivating. I was so eager to get the comic strip done so I could get back to the memoir, and then I could leave the memoir to go back to the comic strip. My second memoir, the book about my mother, I didn't have that other thing, and I got kind of stuck. I think it helps to have at least two things going on.

Q: That's how my chores get done.

Bechdel: Yeah, it's like a kind of transitive procrastination.

Q: *Dykes to Watch Out For* was often highly political. In addition to featuring a cast of lesbian characters (which was political in itself), those characters frequently discussed the issues of the day. I recall a good deal of criticism of the George W. Bush Administration. Since then, you've shifted

toward intensely introspective work. Are you burned out on politics? Have you traded overt commentary for a more "personal is political" approach?

Bechdel: Yes, I feel like I have. I also feel like something did get burnt out in me, something very deep during the Bush Administration. I stopped my comic strip in the spring of 2008, just before the election season, and I feel like George Bush killed *Dykes to Watch Out For*.

Q: That's sad!

Bechdel: But I do feel that somehow these more personal works are also somehow more political. Yes, *Dykes to Watch Out For* was often about specific things happening in the news, specific current events, and the characters would have these ideological discussions all the time. But *Fun Home* is a book about my closeted gay dad who killed himself. It's a book about homophobia. That's a very political topic. I hope that it doesn't come across in that kind of heavy-handed way. It's implicit, it's buried in there, but I still think it's a pretty powerful political message.

And likewise, this book about my mother that I just did is about misogyny. It's about the different courses my mother's life and my life have taken because of being on different sides of that watershed moment of the women's liberation movement, and that's a very political story.

Q: Your latest book relies heavily on psychoanalytic theory. What makes the work of Donald Winnicott so important to you?

Bechdel: I love Donald Winnicott. It's hard to pick out a particular point, because there are so many weird ways that I connect with him, but maybe the main way is his kind of gender ambiguity. Before I knew anything about him, I thought he was a woman. I was reading a book about him that didn't use a pronoun in reference to him. All these ideas sounded so deeply nurturing, I just assumed that this Winnicott person was female. But he was a man—I found out he was a small man, a man with a high-pitched voice, who suffered from impotence. And a man who was freakishly gifted with children. So he became this sort of androgynous mentor for me. This person who was a man, but who was a really good mother to me in a way, giving me some particular piece that I was missing in my actual relationship with my real mother. And I've just felt really connected to him.

One of his more popular ideas is this notion of a

“false self”—that some people learn to create to protect their true self, and that really resonated for me. I feel like all my life I’ve been trying to get down to this true self under these layers of false selves I’ve had to adopt for one purpose or another, and so there’s something very liberating about Winnicott’s work for me.

Q: Your mother did not approve of your comic strip when you started it. Would you characterize cartooning as an act of rebellion, in a good way?

Bechdel: It was not exactly that she didn’t approve of the comic strip, but of me attaching my actual name to the comic strip. Which I guess is basically the same thing. I didn’t think of it intentionally as a kind of rebellion at the time. I just felt like I was doing what I had to do. You know, I was coming out as a lesbian, seeing all of this unfairness and lack of representation, and I wanted to do something about it. That just seemed pretty straightforward and necessary to me as a young person. But yeah, looking back it was absolutely kind of a rebellion that really freed me from my mother in a way, or began to free me from my mother’s critical power over me.

Q: You illustrate that one moment in the book, where you realize you’re just not going to get her approval.

Bechdel: It certainly was an important moment for me, that realization that I was not going to get what I wanted. It was very freeing. I keep using that word “freeing” or “liberating.” I feel like Houdini sometimes, like I’m just getting out of one set of shackles after another, hanging upside down inside a burlap bag with handcuffs on. Hopefully one day, I’m going to get out of this tank of water.

Q: In *Are You My Mother?* you write about professional envy and career anxiety. Has some of that abated with your more recent success?

Bechdel: Well, you would think that it would have because things have been going really well for me. It was a huge break that *Fun Home* succeeded the way it did. But I would say that my professional envy has just kind of ratcheted up another notch [laughs]. Now I’m just envious of different people. I have some more insight into it, and a little bit more freedom from it, but it’s still there. It’s still something I have to grapple with. It’s something that we don’t really seem to talk about much in polite society, though, so a lot of people are telling me they liked hearing about that in the book. That’s kind of cool.



JESSICA ABEL

“I feel like George Bush killed *Dykes to Watch Out For*. Sometimes I wish I could just do my silly comic strip.”

Q: When you make the leap to literature, you enter a whole new world of accolades and people who pay attention to you. Do you feel that going from doing a comic strip to doing serious graphic memoir has gained you a certain amount of respectability?

Bechdel: I never thought about it in exactly those terms, because there were so many other factors at work for me. I was not doing just a comic strip, but this very marginal queer comic strip. I do sometimes miss doing that lighter, more humorous work, and I find there's a heavier responsibility that goes along with a literary reputation. You have to start knowing what you're talking about and you have to go have public conversations with writers. That's been pretty intense; I have to really stay on top of things in a way I didn't before.

But it's a great challenge, and it pushes me to take a bigger view of things, though, sometimes I wish I could just do my silly comic strip.

Q: What's a typical workday like for you?

Bechdel: I wish I had a typical workday. I struggle to get up at seven and almost always fail. I just try to get to my office as soon as I can, but it's always later than I would like. I try not to have anything too much going on between waking up and getting to work. I like to just be really fresh when I sit down. I always have my best ideas, like, within five minutes of starting. And then the rest of the day is just kind of putting in time [laughs].

So I tend to write first thing, and then do my drawing later. I like to draw at night. But often I go for long stretches without drawing, because I'm trying to figure out what I'm writing. I haven't been drawing lately, and I just hate that. It's a terrible feeling.

Q: You've mentioned that you were miserable writing this latest book, but that you enjoyed some of the drawing process.

Bechdel: Drawing is more fun to me than writing. I think it's interesting to talk to different cartoonists about how those activities work for them. I'm a very writerly cartoonist. I certainly spend more time on the writing than I do on the drawing, even though the drawing, of course, is very time-consuming. But the writing is hard, and the drawing is fun. It's very satisfying to see a drawing start to come together. I love having something concrete or tangible, since I work for long stretches without any sign of that. It's so different from when I had a comic strip. Every two weeks, I'd have this achievement. And now that I'm not doing my comic strip but I'm working on these longer book projects, years go by.

Q: You currently live in a rustic setting in Vermont. Earlier in your career, you lived in New York City. Which environment do you think is better for doing creative work?

Bechdel: Oh, I don't know how anyone gets anything done in New York City. I vastly prefer living in the country. I just need a lot of quiet and solitude, and I'm so easily distracted. I mean, the Internet is enough to deal with.

Q: Do you ever find yourself wishing you had a simple life as a mushroom farmer or something?

Bechdel: I have that wish frequently. I would even settle for being an accountant. But it's amazing to get to do what we do. It's incredible. Basically, my work is play. It never actually feels that way—I'm always aiming to attain that state. But I get to do for a living what I did as a child for fun, and that's pretty cool. ♦

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Poem

The Footlocker

The day before I left Pittsburgh
to work as a VISTA Volunteer
in the prisons of North Carolina,
my father drove me in the family car –

an enormous two-door green Chrysler Newport –
downtown to the Army-Navy store on Liberty Avenue.
He was set on buying me a footlocker,
something I had never dreamt of possessing,

to pack everything I'd be taking.
He and my mother were befuddled as to why I –
having recently earned a Master's Degree –
wished to spend my days among criminals

500 miles from home for \$2,000 a year.
They had little faith in my car,
a beat-up 69 VW Bug with no reverse.
My mother wept. My father said nothing.

In my recollection, he has never attempted
to dissuade me from anything, nor made public his desires,
two things for which I can't begin to express my gratitude.
I didn't want a footlocker,

but couldn't bring myself to tell him so.
We wandered the store looking at switchblades,
gas masks, live grenades, then purchased the footlocker.
My dad wanted to get me something else.

Realizing a refusal would be unkind,
I picked out a denim cowboy shirt with pearl buttons –
at the time a real stretch for me.
But, in twenty-four hours, I'd walk away from my past;

style seemed irrelevant. Next door
to the Army-Navy sprawled a string of porno shops.
I snuck into one once with a friend.
We squeezed into a booth and watched a 25-cent

black and white clip, then gaped at magazine jackets,
contraptions and novelties that belonged in a laboratory.
A black curtain through which men passed
in and out led to a back room.

Such experiences, I'm certain, are not unusual
among boys. Yet, standing that day
on Liberty Avenue with my father,
I was filled not with shame, but regret –

because I was leaving and glad about it.
I didn't require absolution,
but I longed to tell him about slipping into that dive.
For all I know – and I realize now how little

I knew about the inside of my father –
he too had been in one of those places before.
But it was painful thinking about having
in common something like this with my dad,

and I valued above all else – and I think he did too –
that we never spoke of such things.
I was 23 years old; and that fact,
in the line of men I issued from,

entitled me to my silence.
My father and I climbed back into the Chrysler
and drove home to my mother and the last supper
we would ever eat together

on that still green side of my life.
The next morning, I picked up I-79
and headed south. In the backseat
of my car lay the footlocker

which I still own and use to store
old manuscripts, notebooks and letters
that in all likelihood
I'll never return to.

—Joseph Bathanti

Joseph Bathanti is Poet Laureate of North Carolina and teaches at Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina.

An Awakened Tiger



I've never cared for golf on the theory that it's not a sport. My personal belief is that if you can gain weight or smoke cigarettes while doing it, then that disqualifies it from being any sort of athletic contest.

Also, since I write about that messy place where sports and politics collide, the conservative plaid-pleated world of the PGA golf tour usually offers little material.

There were hopes when Tiger Woods burst onto the scene in 1997 that all this would change. His father, Earl, predicted that his son would "do more than any other man in history to change the course of humanity." Others predicted a political dawn was coming to the country club tour, with its antediluvian restrictions on people of color and women that remain at many venues.

But Tiger has spent the last fifteen years careening from dull to scandalous with little time to say a word about the historic racism that's defined the sport that's made him so wealthy.

Then at the end of May, Sergio Garcia opened his mouth.

At a European Tour players' dinner, Garcia, who is from Spain and often feuds with Woods, was asked jokingly whether he would be getting together socially with Tiger any time soon. Garcia, clearly doing his best Don Rickles, said, "We'll have him

'round every night. We will serve fried chicken."

In golf, and especially in relation to Tiger Woods, that phrase "fried chicken" is more incendiary than just any old ugly stereotype about African Americans. The idea of serving Tiger Woods "fried chicken" was infamously uttered when the then twenty-one-year-old Woods was just emerging back in 1997. It was seen, whether intentionally or not, as an effort by Fuzzy Zoeller to remind Woods to know his place. That was an ugly,



PATRICK MARTINEZ

divisive moment, which pains all concerned to recall. The idea that Garcia would revive it so blithely was simply salt on the wound.

Garcia made an effort to quickly apologize, saying, "I answered a question that was clearly made towards me as a joke with a silly remark, but in no way was the comment meant in a racist manner."

Tiger Woods was quick to respond, saying, "The comment that was made wasn't silly. It was wrong, hurtful, and clearly inappropriate."

He could have added, "To say it wasn't meant in a racist manner is kind of like arguing the sky is not blue."

Yes, it's true that Tiger Woods is about as apolitical an athlete as one could conjure. He makes Michael Jordan look like Muhammad Ali. He certainly has every right to not say anything about racism or sexism either inside or outside the world of golf.

But what's maddening about Woods is that he has made numerous Nike commercials that stress his racial trailblazing. His corporate persona has always been rebellion stripped of all content.

Whether Tiger likes it or not, he plays at the heralded Masters Tournament, which didn't integrate until 1975.

Whether Tiger likes it or not, he is viewed by millions of fans.

Whether Tiger likes it or not, he is a kind of political icon.

I have a friend—an African American amateur golfer who plays on the public courses here in D.C.—and he said to me, "If you notice, Tiger always wears that red shirt on Sunday when he's going for the win. Red shirt, black skin, green grass. Red, black and green [the flag of Pan-African pride]. He knows what he's doing."

I argued with my friend that there is really nothing whatsoever to back his claim, but that's the power of what we can call representative politics in sports. It must vex Tiger Woods to no end that he can't just play, earn, and accumulate.

But as Sergio Garcia showed, there is always more to the game than just the game. ♦

Dave Zirin is the host of Sirius XM Radio's popular weekly show, "Edge of Sports Radio" and the sports editor of The Nation. His newest book is "Game Over: How Politics Has Turned the Sports World Upside Down" (The New Press).

Lesbian Limbo



Oh, don't mind me. I've just been a little cranky, a tad blue. I think it started in the madness of March, with the tenth anniversary of the war in Iraq. It is not just the costs in blood and treasure of the off-the-books war. It is that George W. Bush is not in jail. He might not be able to visit Europe, but he's still not in Gitmo, which remains open, by the way. On the day of the splashy opening ceremonies for the Bush Liebrary, I hid the sharp kitchen knives.

My dear galpal astutely suggested that the cause of my mood might be pope-partum depression. When Pope Benedict gave God two weeks' notice, it was quite a rush. He bid his last infallible adieus, flew to Castel Gandolfo, and stepped out of his papal robes into his papal snuggie.

Then there was the rush of Red Party Conclave in the Sistine, the white smoke, and finally Pope Francis I, Miss Congeniality last time, Pope this time. So now that Ex-Benedict was being served in the newly refurbished mother-in-law cottage behind the Vatican, sure, maybe I was having a bit of a letdown.

But I also got cranky awaiting the Supreme Court's decisions about the

constitutionality of Prop 8 and the overturning of DOMA, the Defense of Marriage Act. I was in lesbian limbo. How low could I go?

During the oral arguments, I had my in-house lawyer interpret the Court free-for-all, which sounded like an out-of-control seventh grade class I once taught. While many of the fine points were lost on me, it did

We have had our two days in court. Thus far twelve states and the District of Columbia have passed marriage equality rulings. Thirty-eight states have not. A few more are making steady progress. Polls consistently show a positive change in acceptance of LGBT people, with a clear majority of the American people favoring same-sex marriage.

For a few weeks there, you could not swing a King James Bible without hitting someone else coming out for marriage equality.

Many who finally spoke up credited their change of heart to knowing an actual gay person. Republican Senator Rob Portman of Ohio said that in the two years since his son came out to him, the notion of gay marriage had grown on him.

Not to seem ungrateful, but why does that sound like a colony of E. coli on a hot day? Thank you, Senator Porkloin.

Their earnest declarations bespeak a sad failure of imagination.

They sound like doubting Thomases. Unless they can see actual LGBT people up close, they cannot believe they deserve equality. Perhaps we just needed gay petting zoos set up outside the Court. There are several successful ones already in operation in DuPont Circle. ♦



WESLEY BEDROSIAN

seem that Chief Justice John Roberts was doing an imitation of the warden in *Cool Hand Luke*. He leaned in and asked the pro-gay-marriage advocates, "You got lots of powerful friends now, don't you? You don't really need us, do you?" It sounded like we were getting too big for our gay designer britches.

Kate "Brittney Griner makes me happy" Clinton is a humorist.

How Does She Do It?

Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead

By Sheryl Sandberg
Knopf. 228 pages. \$24.95.

By Ruth Conniff

Let's start with the obvious stuff. Sheryl Sandberg is clearly a member of the 1 percent. She was an early hire at Google, before she became one of the few women to reach the very highest floors of the corporate office tower, as the COO of Facebook.

It's not just that Sandberg herself is very, very rich. Her mentor, Larry Summers, is a chief architect of the policies that created the 1 percent in the first place. While Summers was Bill Clinton's Treasury Secretary and Sandberg was his chief of staff, Summers was busy pushing bank deregulation and other economic policies that have helped dramatically separate the mega-rich from ordinary working Americans.

So there is an inherent disconnect between Sandberg's call for a more humane, family-friendly workplace and the values of the intersecting worlds of business and government she comes out of.

In *Lean In*, Sandberg acknowledges that her life is very different from that of most working women.

"I am fully aware that most women are . . . simply trying to get through each day," she writes. "Forty percent of employed mothers lack sick days and vacation leave, and about 50 percent of employed mothers are unable to take time off to care for a sick child. Only about half of women receive any pay during maternity leave. . . . Too many work standards remain inflexi-

ble and unfair, often penalizing women with children."

Her answer: more women in leadership positions.

"We must raise both the ceiling and the floor," Sandberg writes. That seems only reasonable.

But Sandberg doesn't really address how the current structure of the economy, which has so richly rewarded her and her employers, is driving the floor ever lower for most women.

Reading Sandberg, I couldn't help but remember how Summers, along with his colleagues Robert Rubin and Alan Greenspan, hounded another smart, assertive woman, Brooksley Born, the head of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, when Born had the temerity to warn them

that the government was negligent for not exercising oversight over the multi-trillion-dollar derivatives market.

It would be interesting to read what Sandberg thinks about that.

And it would have been interesting to know how she has maintained such a great lifelong relationship with Larry "girls can't do math" Summers, whose arrogance, especially toward women, is legendary and whose tone-deaf remarks about women and the sciences got him pushed out of the presidency at Harvard.

But Sandberg doesn't go there.

Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead has been mocked by some reviewers as a rich lady's white-gloves crusade on behalf of other rich ladies.

But here I part ways with Sand-



ARTHUR CHIVERTON

Ruth Conniff is political editor of *The Progressive*.

berg's critics.

Does it matter at all whether women are represented at the very top reaches of business and government?

Of course it does. We're never going to make progress if we aren't even represented.

I remember once listening to Christopher Hitchens at a bookstore reading snidely deriding the entire women's movement as nothing but a club to promote the professional advancement of wealthy women.

A bearded man standing very close to me erupted in whooping cheers. I met his eyes. What an asshole, I thought at the time. I still do.

That same condescending attitude toward feminism goes all the way back to the fight for women's suffrage.

Sandberg's observations from her seat at the table are both interesting and important. She is a keen observer of the ways in which women's cultural conditioning causes us to undermine ourselves, and of the ways in which entrenched sexism holds women back. She is a warm and funny writer. And she is an advocate for women. She bravely speaks up about the issues many women in corporations are afraid to speak up about.

She even embraces the F-word.

"Social gains are never handed out. They must be seized," Sandberg writes. "Looking back, it made no sense for my college friends and me to distance ourselves from the hard-won achievements of earlier feminists," she adds, admirably.

Women need to advocate for each other, and fight for our rights.

Most specifically, and controversially, Sandberg tackles the "mommy track" mentality, which, she argues, has caused the current generation of female college grads to "lean out," ramping down their ambition in the expectation that a demanding job is too hard to balance with motherhood.

"We have to ask ourselves if we have become so focused on supporting personal choices that we're failing to encourage women to aspire to leadership," she writes.

This point about the inanity of the talk about "personal choice" is on target. People's personal choices are shaped by many factors outside their control. Sandberg names a few.

She makes a call for more equality in marriage.

In a 2007 study of professional women who left the workforce, she writes, "60 percent cited their husbands as a critical factor in their decision," she writes. "These women specifically listed their husbands' lack of participation in child care and other domestic tasks and the expecta-

A third generation should not be rediscovering Betty Friedan.

tions that wives should be the ones to cut back on employment as reasons for quitting."

She adds: "No wonder when asked at a conference what men could do to help advance women's leadership, Harvard Business School professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter answered, 'the laundry.' "

Getting men to pick up the slack is a critical element to women's advancement—as it always has been.

Too many agonized conversations on playgrounds, too many overqualified women suffering over staying home while their husbands log crushing hours at work have convinced me that the happiest families are those where everyone gets to go out in the world and be an adult, and everyone

gets enough time to be home, nurturing the children, too.

We should not need to be rediscovering, for a third generation, Betty Friedan's insight that it is mind-numbing for women to be left alone at home to deal with household tasks on our own while men do all the outside-the-house work. I mean, what year is this, anyway?

Women in France and Denmark and Norway don't agonize over "work/family balance." It's a nonissue in countries with adequate paid parental leave, high-quality, publicly funded child care, and a feminist attitude that tells women and men alike: Of course you should have access to fulfilling work and a fulfilling family life.

Which brings me back to the Larry Summers-Google-Facebook problem.

Gross economic inequality makes for a less humane society. And you can't really make a call for workplace policies that benefit women while leaving out this larger context.

It's great that Sandberg got Google to put in preferred parking spots for pregnant women, but what about the fact that Google avoids billions in taxes each year through the use of tax shelters, while Facebook paid no taxes at all last year?

It's not just that feminism and economic justice are morally consistent. Women are disproportionately affected by the economic policies that have created such a harried, insecure workforce and such a dearth of family-supporting jobs.

In the absence of national pro-family policies, there's a lot to be said for the slow road for people who have young families. An easier, less rapaciously ambitious, ordinary middle-class life (the kind that is increasingly endangered in our current economy) is good for women. It's good for men. It's good for children.

I can say from personal experience that two of those jobs (and ideally, when the kids are very young, one

and a half of those jobs) make for a pretty happy family life.

The best parts of Sandberg's book are her warm and funny reflections on her own life.

She explores the shaming power of the word "bossy" and her own embarrassment over stories about her bossiness as a little girl:

"Apparently, when I was in elementary school, I taught my younger siblings, David and Michelle, to follow me around, listen to my monologues, and scream the word, 'Right!' when I concluded."

She gives a shout-out to Tina Fey, who observed in the memoir *Bossy-*

pants that when people ask women, "How do you balance it all?" they are really saying, "You're fucking it *all* up, aren't you?"

Most of all, Sandberg does a sensitive job putting a finger on how the plague of "niceness" and the entrenched, sexist notions about what women ought to be like are perpetuated in the workplace by both men and women—to all of our detriment.

At times, I found reading Sandberg's book exhausting. The idea of climbing the corporate ladder, of leaning in so hard that you have to scramble to assemble a family schedule when both parents are in town, is just plain unappealing to an ordinary

mortal.

But Sandberg is right that men and women alike need to work harder to figure out what we want and try to get our lives in line with our ideals.

We need more Sheryl Sandbergs to temper the Larry Summerses who rule the world.

At the end of her book, Sandberg announces the formation of a Lean In Community on Facebook, and Lean In Circles—"small peer groups that meet in person for ongoing encouragement and development."

What do you know—a club to promote the professional advancement of women.

Sounds like a good idea. ♦

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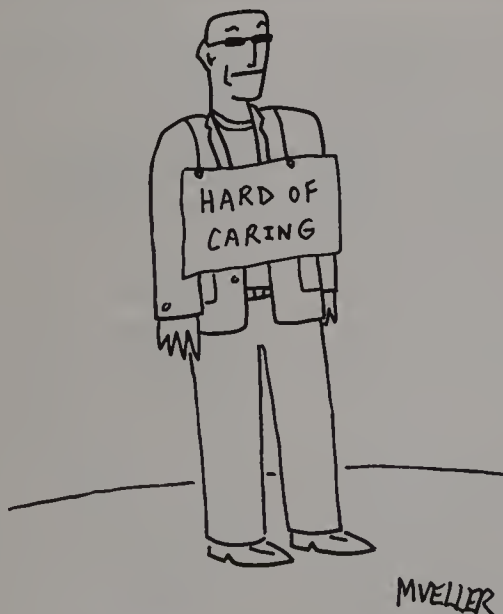


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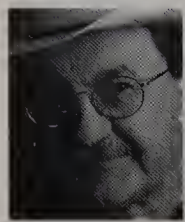


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CEOs Play Hide and Seek



If corporations are people, as the Supreme Court pretends, they certainly are loudmouths, constantly telling us how great they are and spreading their names everywhere.

All of a sudden, though, these corporate creatures have suddenly turned demure, insisting that they don't want to draw any attention to themselves.

That's because, in this case, corporations are not selling, but buying—specifically, trying to buy public office for their pet political candidates by funneling millions of corporate dollars through such front groups as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. In turn, the fronts use the money to air nasty attack ads that smear the opponents of the pro-corporate candidates.

Why do corporations need a middleman?

Because the ads are so partisan and vicious that they would appall millions of customers, employees, and shareholders of the corporation. So, rather than besmirch their own names, the corporate powers have meekly retreated behind the skirts of Republican political outfits like the Chamber.

But don't front groups have to report (at least to election authorities) who's really behind their ads, so voters can make informed decisions?

Nope.

Thanks to the Supreme Court's

Jim Hightower produces The Hightower Lowdown newsletter and is the author, with Susan DeMarco, of "Swim Against the Current: Even a Dead Fish Can Go with the Flow."

infamous *Citizen United* edict in 2010, such groups can now pour unlimited sums of corporate cash into elections without ever disclosing the names of their funders. This "dark money" channel has essentially established secret political campaigning in America.

That's why shareholders and other democracy advocates are asking the Securities and Exchange Commission to rule that the corporate giants must reveal to shareholders all political

lions in dark money poured into our 2012 elections from the "social welfare charities" run by the likes of Karl Rove and the Koch brothers.

Underhanded, anonymous electioneering puts a fatal curse on democracy.

Even Justice Antonin Scalia, long a cheerleader for corporate politicking, is no fan of hiding it from the electorate: "Requiring people to stand up in public for their political acts fosters civic courage," he has written, adding that a campaign "hidden from public scrutiny" is anathema to self-governance. He also deems it cowardly: "This does not resemble the Home of the Brave," he pointedly noted.

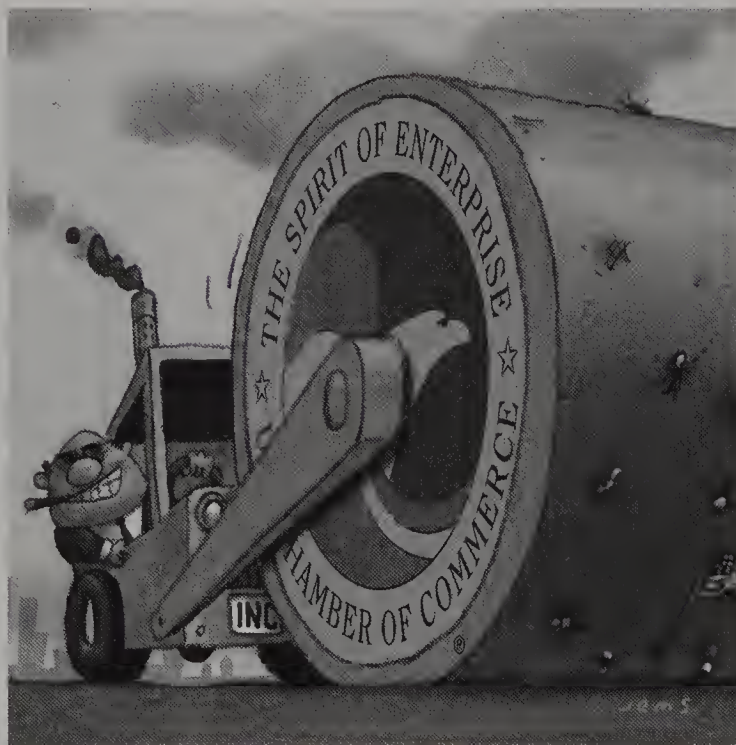
But the corporate scaredycats are climbing the roof.

A rare joint letter from the U.S. Chamber, Business Roundtable, and National Association of Manufacturers went out to the CEOs of the 200 largest corporations in our country, rallying them to the barricades in a frenetic lobbying effort to stop this outbreak of honest, democratic disclosure. House Republicans are even going to the extreme of trying to make

it illegal for the SEC to let shareholders (and the voting public) know which campaigns are being backed by which corporations.

"Ultimately, the disclosure effort is driven by activists and labor unions that are not acting in the best interest of investors or the overall business community, and who will not be satisfied with mere disclosure," the letter from the chieftains said. "These groups will not stop until business' ability to engage in political and policy advocacy is eliminated altogether."

Now wouldn't that be terrible? ♦



JEM SULLIVAN

donations their executives make with corporate funds. After all, the millions of dollars the executives are using to play politics don't belong to them. They belong to the shareholders, and by no means do the shareholders all agree on who the best candidate is.

Hide and seek can be a fun game for kids, but it's infuriating when CEOs play it in our elections. Last year, corporate interests sought to elect their candidates by hiding much of their politicking not only from company owners but also from us, the voters. In all, hundreds of mil-

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